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# Cracow's Wine Trade (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

F. W. CARTER

THE quest for different and new varieties of wines has interested people for centuries. Whereas beer was the ordinary person's drink in the Middle Ages, when large quantities were consumed for nourishment as well as pleasure, wine was the everyday beverage of the more affluent members of society, except in Europe's grape-growing areas where naturally it was cheaper. Even so Postan has observed that 'Historians do not know enough about medieval consumption in different places and at different social levels to be able to judge to what extent wine and beer were true substitutes';<sup>1</sup> but it does appear that 'Wine cost much more than beer, even local wine, and artisans took it only on special occasions'.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly wine was widely distributed in medieval Europe, and the vine was cultivated even in more northerly areas until specialization in particular great wine-growing regions enabled them to supply a higher quality vintage wherever needed. Attempts at viticulture in the more climatically marginal areas of the continent were gradually abandoned as the Middle Ages progressed and northern Europe began to provide an attractive market for the vintages of the Mediterranean basin and Iberian peninsula. As a result large quantities of wine were involved in the export trade.<sup>3</sup> In some parts of Europe where wine supplies became more difficult to obtain, some compensation was made by increased beer production, especially in parts of the Netherlands, Germany and the Baltic countries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. M. Postan, 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North', *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II, Cambridge, 1962, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> G. Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Bloomington, 1976, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Y. Renouard, 'Le Grand Commerce du vin au moyen âge' (*Études d'histoire médiévale*, Paris, 1968, pp. 235-48).

<sup>4</sup> J. Craeybeckx, *Un Grand Commerce d'importation — les vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas (XIII-XVI siècles)*, Paris, 1958, pp. 15-17; R. Schultze, *Geschichte des Weines und der Trinkgelage*, Berlin, 1867, p. 120; B. Giglaski, *Der Weinbau im Lande des Deutschen Ordens während des Mittelalters: Ein Vortrag*, Brunsberg, 1908, pp. 8-9. See also M. Strzemski, 'Przemiany środowiska geograficznego Polski, jako tła przyrodniczego rozwoju rolnictwa na ziemiach polskich (od połowy trzeciego tysiąclecia p.n.e. do naszych czasów)' (*Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, IX, 3, Warszawa, 1961, pp. 331-57).

In Poland the place-name evidence of settlements called 'Winnica' suggests that vineyards existed there during the early Middle Ages;<sup>5</sup> this was probably closely associated with the introduction of Christianity to the country during the reign of Mieszko I.<sup>6</sup> By the fourteenth century Polish viticultural development had reached its peak, but after 1400 it began to decline.<sup>7</sup> In spite of new vineyard planting in places such as Sandomierz, Poznań, and Płock, other factors contributed to loss of production.<sup>8</sup> Climatic changes created colder conditions in Poland, which in turn affected the pattern of human settlement and choice of crop production.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the gradual introduction of better-quality foreign wines into Poland during the later Middle Ages led to the complete eclipse of Polish viticulture by the beginning of the sixteenth century. For Poland, the period after 1500 was to witness a great era of foreign wine importation in which Cracow was to play a leading role. Within the Polish capital the wine merchant fraternity was responsible for introducing alien wines to the more privileged medieval aristocracy, whose demand ensured a flourishing market over the centuries.

Wine has a deceptively wide range of markets which vary from those essentially geared to subsistence consumption right through to its provision as a highly desirable luxury article. It has an intensely geographical pattern of production, many wines being identified purely on location of origin. It is the aim of this paper to examine those areas of origin and destination of wines channelled through Cracow between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, and perhaps not only add something to our knowledge of the geographical patterns associated with this trade in southern Poland, but also help in a small way to correct some of Postan's observations noted earlier.

### *Data Sources*

Early evidence of viticulture around Cracow comes from the Arab traveller Al-Idrisi. According to him the vine was grown in the twelfth century not only in Brittany and around Bruges and Bremen, but also,

<sup>5</sup> *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, B. Chlebowski, F. Sulimierski & W. Walewski (eds), xiii, Warszawa, 1893, with reference to villages named 'Winnica'.

<sup>6</sup> K. Moldenhawer, 'Szczątki roślinne z wykopalisk z X w. na Ostrowiu Tumskim' (*Przegląd Archeologiczny*, vi, Warszawa, 1938-39, pp. 226-27); J. Kwapieniowa, 'Początki uprawy winnej latorośli w Polsce' (*Materiały Archeologiczne*, i, Kraków, 1959, p. 361).

<sup>7</sup> Z. Morawski, 'Rozwój i upadek winiarstwa w Polsce (XXII-XVI wiek)' (*Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xxvi, i, Warszawa, 1978, p. 67).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> T. Dunin-Wasowicz, 'Environnement et habitat: la rupture d'équilibre du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la Grande Plaine européenne' (*Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 35, 5, Paris 1980, pp. 1026-45).

he specifically mentions, Cracow; his translator Jaubert<sup>10</sup> was frankly, but wrongly, sceptical of this and wrote 'sic' after each translated statement. He did however have stronger ground for doubting the validity of Al-Idrisi's claim that the olive was grown in Poland at that time. Nevertheless, there must have been considerable agricultural activity in the immediate surroundings of Cracow, which by the eleventh century had already become one of the main political centres of the country.<sup>11</sup>

With political importance came commercial significance and the recording of marketing transactions, many of which have survived the rigours of time and are preserved in the city's archives. Here city council reports, municipal privileges, etc. enable some appreciation to be made of overall growth tendencies, not only in Cracow but also in other settlements mentioned in the data sources. Greatest importance must be attached to the various documents related to customs duty collection, amongst which one set covers a 200-year period from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Customs registers for much of sixteenth-century Cracow were lodged in Warsaw, but unfortunately were destroyed during the Second World War; however, they had been analysed before the War by the Polish economic historian Rybarski and now exist in summarized table form.<sup>12</sup>

For this paper an important item in these customs registers is a privilege granted by King Jan Olbracht in 1497; this allowed the city to extract a wine duty called 'weingeld' and later 'ducellaria'. Customs duty was collected therefore not only on the amount of goods brought to the city, but also according to what type they were. Duty on cloth had been in force since 1323, and 175 years later wine was given similar status. The tax amount collected depended on size (vat, barrel, etc.), but no-one was exempt, even Cracow citizens, and it was immaterial if the wine was for personal consumption or not.<sup>13</sup> Such documentary material has obvious value not only for historians and economic historians but also for historical geographers, who are able to use it to establish trade patterns over particular time periods. All documentary sources have some weaknesses, and these have been discussed with regard to Cracow by the author elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, given these

<sup>10</sup> A. Jaubert, *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāk fi ḥtirāk al-āfāk. Géographie d'Edrisi*. (Traduite de l'arabe en français d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et accompagnée de notes), I-II, Paris, 1836-40, pp. 375, 381, 389.

<sup>11</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Historia Gospodarstwa Polski*, Warszawa, 1953, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, Poznań, 1928-29, vol. 2; (Tablice i materiały statystyczne).

<sup>13</sup> S. Kutrzeba, 'Finanse Krakowa w wiekach średnich' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, III, Kraków, 1900, pp. 101-02).

<sup>14</sup> F. W. Carter, 'Cracow as Trade Mediator in Polish-Balkan Commerce, 1590-1600', in *Trade and Transport in Russia and Eastern Europe*, M. McCauley and J. E. O. Screen (eds), School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Occasional Papers, 2, London, 1985, p. 42.

reservations concerning abuse of archival data, they still form an integral part of the information utilized in this paper.

Emphasis here is placed on the spatial patterns and geographical interpretation of Cracow's wine trade; other primary archival sources have been utilized from various places with former commercial significance, which were usually situated on major trade routes connected with Cracow. These depositories were useful for supplementing the Cracow series, and add further information on the spatial patterns of the city's wine trade. In Poland documents were consulted at the Biblioteka Czartoryskich<sup>15</sup> and the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych,<sup>16</sup> together with those in Gdańsk and Toruń,<sup>17</sup> Elbląg,<sup>18</sup> Poznań<sup>19</sup> and other small town collections. Beyond the present Polish frontiers documentary material from former Hungarian territory was used, for example, town archives in Košice, Prešov, Levoča, and Bardejov,<sup>20</sup> whilst in Rumania archival sources at Cluj, Braşov and Sibiu were analysed.<sup>21</sup> Various secondary published sources also proved helpful including the Sund registers<sup>22</sup> and works by Kutrzeba, Rybarski, Małecki, Bogucka, Pieradzka, Horváth, Dan, Demény, and Marečková.<sup>23</sup>

### Trade Routes

One of the keys to Cracow's success as a trading emporium was its favourable geographical location regarding trade routes.<sup>24</sup> For wine the major problem was transport. Commerce in this commodity was

<sup>15</sup> Archiwum Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Oddział Muzeum Narodowego), Kraków.

<sup>16</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. See also *Straty archiwów i bibliotek w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, 1, Warszawa, 1957, pp. 88–90.

<sup>17</sup> Archiwum Państwowe we Gdańsku; Archiwum miasta Torunia.

<sup>18</sup> Archiwum miasta Elbląga.

<sup>19</sup> Archiwum Państwowe we Poznaniu.

<sup>20</sup> Státní okresní archiv, Bardejov, fond Archiv města Bardejov; Archiv města Levoča; ibid, Košice, Prešov.

<sup>21</sup> Arhiva de Stat Cluj; Arhiva oraşului Cluj, Arhiva Bistriței; Arhiva de Stat Braşov, Gewandhandelregister; Arhiva de Stat Sibiu, Zwanzigste und Dreissigste Rechnungen.

<sup>22</sup> *Tabeller over skibsfart og varetransport gennem Øresund 1497–1660*, N. E. Bang (ed.), 2 vols, København, 1906–33; *Tabeller over skibsfart og varetransport gennem Øresund 1661–1783*, 2 vols, København, 1930–53.

<sup>23</sup> S. Kutrzeba and F. Duda, *Regesta Thelonei Aquatici Wladislaviensis Saeculi XVI*, Kraków, 1915; R. Rybarski, op. cit.; J. M. Małecki, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym Krakowa w XVI wieku*, Warszawa, 1963; M. Bogucka, *Szkice Gdańskie (XV–XVII w.)*, Warszawa, 1957; K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI w.* (Biblioteka Krakowska No. 87), Kraków, 1935; P. Horváth, 'Obchodné styky Levoče s Pol'skom v druhej polovici XVI. storočia' (*Historické štúdie*, 1, 1955, Bratislava, pp. 105–45); M. P. Dan, 'Negustorii clujeni la Cracovia în ultimul deceniu al secolului al XVI-lea' (*Acta Musea Napocensis*, 8, Cluj, 1971, pp. 205–17); L. A. Demény, 'Comerţul de tranzit spre Polonia prin Ţara Românească şi Transilvania (Ultimul sfert al secolului al XVII-lea)' (*Studia Revista de Istorie*, 22, 3, Bucharest, 1969, pp. 465–98); M. Marečková, *Dálkový obchod Prešova v prújch třech desetiletích 17 století a Krakovský trh*, Brno, 1971.

<sup>24</sup> F. W. Carter, 'Cracow's Early Development' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, 61, 2, 1983, London, pp. 198–201).



often confined to particular regions which — like the Gironde or Oporto — were by the sea, or, like Burgundy, had ready access to a navigable river system linking them to major markets. Perhaps the largest single problem in the earlier centuries was, however, a technical one; many wines were not stable enough to travel long distances, and often had to be consumed within a few months of fermentation. Longer-lasting wines were dependent on improved techniques and an aristocratic society able to enjoy and afford them. Once this market was large enough, it could facilitate the development of international links, providing buyers' curiosity was sufficient to try out new vintages.<sup>25</sup>

Such conditions during the late medieval and early modern period were found in Cracow, particularly up to 1609 when the royal court resided in the city. Certainly most of the wines of far distant origin entering Cracow up to the late seventeenth century must have been specially treated with a high alcohol level (16°–18° or above) to ensure their longevity. This would have ensured that wines from Spain (Granada), France (the Midi), and Malmsey (Crete) arrived in a drinkable form; some of the less alcoholic wines from France would have been carefully aged in wood, whilst the various German hocks relied on high sugar content to allow transport and storage. Hungarian wines (for example, Tokay) would have proved less of a problem due to their closer proximity to the Cracow market.

Richer merchants in Cracow (for example, the Wierzynek family)<sup>26</sup> dominated the wine trade, for they alone had both the financial capital and warehousing facilities to provide for large storage space and enable manipulation of the wine trade through access to the key viticultural areas. In this way Cracow, through transit trade links, had connections with the different European wine-producing regions, and this helped to provide a sense of economic coherence in an often politically divided and sometimes warring continent. Moreover, up to and during the fifteenth century the urban centres of Europe were the major commercial nuclei, little business being allowed to escape into the surrounding countryside. Merchants played a critical role in this scenario, creating a sharp division between rural peasants practising agriculture and urban dwellers bent on controlling trade and the manual crafts.<sup>27</sup> From the thirteenth century onwards merchants lived under individual town protection and reciprocal guarantees between towns, which enabled merchants to trade in a wide variety of merchandise. Cracow's merchants were no exception in this overall picture. One of the most important such merchants in Cracow during the first half of the

<sup>25</sup> *The Economist* (24/12/1983, Wine Survey), p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> S. Kutrzeba, 'Historia rodziny Wierzyńków' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, II, Kraków, 1899, pp. 29–88); J. Roszko, *Wierzynek i jego sąsiedzi*, Kraków, 1980.

<sup>27</sup> H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, London, 1961, p. 169.

fifteenth century was Sweidniczer, whose company dealt on a large scale in a multitude of goods from Flanders to Hungary.<sup>28</sup> More common, however, was the specialist merchant who traded in only one commodity such as wine and had commercial links with a single area.

Cracow's commercial strength lay in the privileges guaranteed by its town council and the power of the Polish throne. One of the most significant privileges acquired by Cracow's merchant community was the law on stapling rights (*Stapelrecht/Prawo składu*), first obtained in 1306.<sup>29</sup> In Cracow stapling was only applicable to foreign merchants, referred to in documents as 'hospites' (Latin), 'dy geste' (German), and 'obcymi' (Polish), and was deliberately designed to protect the city's merchant class. Due to its fortunate geographical location, Cracow was able to make great use of this concept and was 'in the best position for this type of trade in the whole of Poland'.<sup>30</sup> Although the 1306 document only referred to copper, reconfirmation of the city's stapling rights granted by King Kazimierz Wielki in 1354<sup>31</sup> included all commodities (and so wine). This new law was aimed at protecting the city from the commercial activities of other non-Polish towns, notably Toruń and Gdańsk,<sup>32</sup> and the illegal dealings of foreign merchants, for example from Nuremberg.<sup>33</sup> While much of Cracow's wine trade was for local consumption, and the stapling laws were mainly aimed at transit trade, it did preserve the wine merchant's monopoly when dealing with other towns, fairs, and markets in southern Poland operative at the time. Unfortunately, about the year 1500, great changes in Poland's transit trade occurred because of the Turkish incursions into Europe, and the establishment of new routes to India and the New World; these events led to a questioning of the value of

<sup>28</sup> S. Kutrzeba, 'Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich, na tle stosunków handlowych Polski' (*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności* (Hist-Phil), XLIV, Kraków, 1902, p. 155); R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948; see also R. Farkas, *Kassa arumegállitójoga*, Kassa, 1893; A. Gárdonyi, 'Felső Magyarország kereskedelmi útjai a középkorban, Közgazdasági Szemle, Budapest, 1908; G. Kerekes, *Kassa polgársága, ipara és kereskedése a középkor végén*, Budapest, 1913; S. Kutrzeba (ed.), 'Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski z Węgrami z lat 1354-1505' (*Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, IX, Kraków, 1902, pp. 407-85); R. Marsina, 'Mesto a trh na Slovensku do konca 13 stor.' (*Historický časopis*, 26, 1, Bratislava, 1978, pp. 77-95).

<sup>29</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa, 1257-1506*, F. Piekosiński (ed.), I, Kraków, 1879, No. 4.

<sup>30</sup> S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, 'Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, XIV, Kraków, 1912, p. 10).

<sup>31</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, no. 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, K. Kunze, C. V. Runstedt and W. Stein (eds), München-Halle-Leipzig-Weimar, I-IX, 1876-1958, III, nos. 532-33; *Codex Epistolaris nec non Diplomaticus seculi XV*, A. Lewicki (ed.), Kraków, 1885, vol. II, no. 200 refers to complaints by foreign merchants from Toruń and Gdańsk in 1430 about Cracow's rigid staple laws.

<sup>33</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie: *Consularia Cracoviensia*, vol. III, p. 158, mentions the case in 1457 of a Nuremberg merchant who illegally sold cloth and silk material in Cracow.

stapling laws coupled with the emergence of Poland's estate farming (*folwark*) and growth in exports, especially cereals.<sup>34</sup>

The actual trade routes used by Cracow's merchants converged on the city from several directions. Four principal roads radiated from the city, to the north, south, east, and west. The northern route to the Baltic coast was known as the Toruń or Prussian (Torunska/Pruska) road and had been in use since the beginning of the fourteenth century;<sup>35</sup> from Cracow it crossed Cujavia to Toruń, and then followed the banks of the Vistula river to Gdańsk. A branch route left the main road at Łęczycza and led to Poznań and the Baltic ports of Szczecin, Stralsund and Greifswald; after about 1400 this was called the Flanders (Flandryjska) route. From Cracow southward the route led to Hungary and had been in use since the thirteenth century. It went via Bochnia over the Tatra mountains to Košice<sup>36</sup> and on to Transylvania. In a westward direction, the main route led from Cracow to Wrocław via Olkusz,<sup>37</sup> with a branch road going through Oświęcim (Auschwitz), to connect with roads for Prague and Vienna. Eastward, the main route linked Cracow with the large emporium of Lwów.<sup>38</sup> The major route left Cracow for Sandomierz along the banks of the Vistula where it bifurcated, one branch going north-east to Lublin/Włodzimierz/Kiev, and the other south-east to Lwów and further along the Tatars (Tatarska) road to southern Russia, the Crimea, and Sea of Azov.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> K. Stachowska, 'Prawo składu w Polsce do 1565 r.' (*Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, II, 9, Kraków, 1951, p. 592).

<sup>35</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, no. 4 and no. 16; see also B. Wyrozumski, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI wieku* (Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych No. 41), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1977, pp. 28-35; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. III, nos. 147, 559 (which gives a list of Polish customs houses in 1350-60), and 631. For more general discussion, see S. Weymann, 'Cła i drogi handlowe w Polsce piastowskiej' (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, *Prace Komisji Historycznej*, XIII, 1, Poznań, 1938); 'Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce od X do XVIII wieku' (*Przegląd zachodni*, IX, II, 6-8 (Studia Poznańskie ku uczczeniu 1000-lecia miast i 700-lecia samorządu miejskiego) (Połowa X w 1253-1953), Poznań, 1953, pp. 194-253).

<sup>36</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Acta Castirensia Cracoviensis* (Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie), IX, 14 (dated 1405) refers to a customs-station at Czchów; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, II, no. 310 (dated 1432); *ibid.*, I, 16 (1329), and 57 (1380); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, F. Piekosiński (ed.), I, Kraków, 1876, no. 173; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, no. 22 (dated 1338); Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Acta Castirensia Cracoviensis*, IX, 44; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, no. 15 (dated 1324).

<sup>37</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, II, Kraków 1880, no. 310; see also F. Kiryk and R. Kołodziejczyk (eds), *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu olkuskiego*, 2 vols, Warszawa, 1978; in 1452 Wrocław merchants confirmed that the oldest route to Cracow went via Opole and Toszek; A. Klose, *Von Breslau, Dokumentierte Geschichte und Beschreibung*, II, 2, Breslau, 1881, p. 358.

<sup>38</sup> Ł. Charewiczowa, *Handel Średniowiecznego Lwowa* (Studia nad Historią Kultury w Polsce, vol. I), Lwów, 1925, pp. 31-52.

<sup>39</sup> *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a archiwum tak zwanego Bernadynskiego Lwowe* (wyd. K. Liske), III, 28, Lwów 1906, 'in omnibus iuribus et libertatibus, videlicet, depositione omnium mercanciarum, omnium et quorumlibet mercatorum ac transitu seu via . . . volumus . . . conservare' (dated 1379). In 1380 a merchant en route to or from Tatars must stay 14 days in Lwów, pay customs duty, and offer goods for sale. If they were not sold after a fortnight they could then be taken on further either east or west. *Akta grodzka i ziemski*,



These four axial routes therefore connected Cracow with the more distant European trade centres and beyond. With increased commercial contacts in Europe, sources show that Cracow merchants travelled to Italy, especially to Venice via Vienna and Treviso;<sup>40</sup> this resulted from agreements concluded between King Kazimierz Wielki and Rudolf IV, Prince of Austria. Italy was an important source of southern wines and Venetian merchants could freely trade in them and other goods in Cracow, as did Cracow merchants similarly in Venice.<sup>41</sup> An alternative route to Italy went via Nuremberg–Innsbruck–Trevisto–Mestre and had been used since about 1350, when Nuremberg merchants arrived in Cracow and gave permission for Cracow's merchants to travel via their city.<sup>42</sup>

River routes were also an important means of sending merchandise to or through Cracow, including wine. The main alternative to wheeled traffic was the barge/boat; in the Middle Ages, transport by water was often cheaper than by land, and this meant that river traffic was able to bear heavier tolls. During the early Middle Ages the Vistula river was little used as a trade route, due to the weak development of Polish commerce up to the thirteenth century. However, with the growth of towns and expansion of trade in the fourteenth century, especially transit trade from Hungary to the Baltic coast, river routes were used more frequently. The Hungarian wine trade was able for part of the journey over the Tatra mountains to use the Dunajec river and from the fifteenth century Cracow merchants transported along the Vistula river some of the heavier loads such as wine to and from the Baltic coast; in turn this linked the city with the important ports of Bruges and Antwerp in the Low Countries.

Finally, the actual physical movement of goods such as wine from the producer to Cracow and beyond required considerable organization and was often fraught with difficulties. A merchant company needed assistants, who were often relatives, responsible for goods when they arrived/departed through the city boundaries; their job was to organize the transport, pay bills, check quantities, etc. Transportation was carried out by a *furman* or waggon-driver, who was not just a carter, but responsible according to specific instructions for the merchandise from collection to delivery. Furmans are rarely given the prominence they

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iii, no. 32; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, 58. See also M. Małowist, 'Les Routes du commerce et les marchandises du Levant dans la vie de la Pologne au bas moyen âge et début de l'époque moderne', *Mediterraneo e Oceano Indiano*, Firenze, 1970, pp. 157–75; M. Dubiecki, 'Kaffa osada genuenska i jej stosunek do Polski w XV w.' (*Przegląd Powszechny*, 12, Kraków, 1886, pp. 12–22).

<sup>40</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die Deutsch-Venezianischen Handelsbeziehungen*, Stuttgart, 1887, II, p. 98.

<sup>41</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, no. 34.

<sup>42</sup> H. Simonsfeld, op. cit., I, no. 368.

deserve in documentary evidence, probably because they were not tied to one merchant, but acted as free agents. They worked on commission, often stating their own terms of reference, including the amount charged for transport. Another individual providing company services was the *lieger* or commercial agent who was responsible for selling and buying merchandise in some distant market such as Bruges or Košice and sending it to Cracow. Also there were commission agents who collected goods from Cracow companies, delivered merchandise at their own expense, sold it, and with the money or barter returned to Cracow with other goods; they usually received a quarter of the profit on the transaction as payment.<sup>43</sup>

In spite of this organization, transactions were often fraught with difficulty. Throughout much of the period under study here, routes were not very safe, risks were high and individual merchants, except perhaps the richest, were often hesitant to participate. It should be remembered that a road was merely a strip of land (rather than an improved surface) on which people had the right to travel, whilst over moors, through passes or forests and across swamps, the route could become little more than a path. Wheeled vehicles found the going difficult in wet weather, and on such roads normal speed was at walking pace so that twenty miles (32 kms) was a good day's journey, and some daily stages were much shorter. The disadvantages of road travel were in part counterbalanced by a widespread use of rivers, but even these suffered from natural obstacles. Spring floods, summer low water, and winter ice impeded navigation, and there was the perpetual problem of shallows, rocks, and rapids. Although most waterways were capable of use, upstream movement was slow, the main form of combating the current being often only with poles, oars, or simple sails. River traffic also suffered more from tolls charged by feudal landlords for passage through their territory; for these the waterborne travellers were an easy prey. Carts and pack animals on land routes were more fortunate, for it was easier to avoid such fiscal dues, plague, banditry, warfare, and physical obstacles like floods and landslides, simply by taking an alternative route.

Given this general information on trading organization and the problems associated with the use of commercial routes, it is now appropriate to enquire further into Cracow's wine trade. As a study in historical geography, this investigation will emphasize the spatial ramifications of that trade to ascertain which areas were important and

<sup>43</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie i) *Consularia Cracoviensia*, I, p. 190. In 1403 a commission agent took goods to Bohemia from Cracow, but due to errors he made in the transaction he lost his quarter of the profit made. ii) *Ibid.*, *Consularia Cracoviensia*, III, p. 143 (1456). A commission agent had two separate contracts with a merchant in Cracow and a foreign merchant in Košice. He sent the goods from the Cracow merchant to Košice through a furman, and then had merchandise from Košice delivered to Cracow on the return journey. iii) *Ibid.*, *Consularia Cracoviensia*, I, p. 231 (1406) gives a similar example to (ii); iv) *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, F. Piekosiński and J. Szujski (eds), II, Kraków, 1878, pp. 137–38. A bill is preserved for a commission agent who took goods to Flanders for a Cracow merchant 'Super . . . expensis et perculo . . .'.

what changes took place between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, using the year 1500 as a bench-mark for comparison. This is a convenient date separating the late medieval and early modern periods, when significant changes began to appear in trade orientation, not only for Cracow but for the whole of Europe.

### *Cracow's Wine Trade up to 1500*

Documentary evidence suggests that wine imports to Cracow came from three major sources, Hungary, Moldavia, and to a lesser extent western Europe (Fig. 1). Hungarian wines appear to have been the most important, with Poland providing an obvious close market. This was because, first, it did not produce enough for its own religious and other needs, and, second, Austria, the other possible main outlet for Hungarian wines, had sufficient of its own Styrian varieties.<sup>44</sup> The largest Cracow consumers were the royal court, local magnates, and richer city dwellers, but also to these must be added the considerable number of Hungarian students in Cracow, particularly during the reign of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1447–92).<sup>45</sup> Wine and copper were the most important export items from Hungary in the Middle Ages. Dąbrowski believes Hungarian wine was exported to Cracow in the thirteenth century,<sup>46</sup> and certainly by 1310 it was often mentioned in tariff lists.<sup>47</sup> The royal court papers of King Ludwik Węgierski (1370–82) and Queen Jadwiga (1384–99) as well as the accounts of her successor, King Władysław Jagiełło (1386–1434), record purchases of Hungarian wine.<sup>48</sup> Further evidence of its importance is stressed in the edict of 1498 by King Jan Olbracht, previously referred to, which allowed Cracow merchants to collect a special duty from this wine.<sup>49</sup> Even so, Hungarian fears of a Cracow monopoly by such as Count Zápolyai (Zápol'ský) led to disputes and sales prohibition on certain wines (for example, 'Syrmska' from the present-day region of Sremska Mitrovica) towards the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> I. Acsády, *A pozsonyi és szepesi kamarák, 1565–1604* (vol. 1 of *Két pénzügytörténelmi tanulmány*), Budapest, 1894, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>45</sup> W. Bogatyński, *Walka z Pijaństwem w Renesansowym Krakowie* (Fragment Życia obyczajowego Krakowa w dawnych wiekach), Kraków, 1954, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> J. Dąbrowski, 'Kraków a Węgry w wiekach średnich' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, xiii, Kraków, 1911, p. 222); S. Kutrzeba, 'Handel Krakowa w wiekach . . .', p. 68.

<sup>47</sup> *Rachunki dworu króla Władysława Jagiełły i królowej Jadwigi z lat 1388–1420*, F. Piekosiński (ed.), Kraków, 1896, p. 202.

<sup>48</sup> The four main production centres of Tokay wine were Tállya, Tarcal, Tolcsva, and Tokaj; secondary centres included Patak (Sárospatak), Sátoraljaújhely, and Mád; J. Dąbrowski, op. cit., p. 40; *Rachunki dworu króla . . .*, op. cit., pp. 210, 213–14.

<sup>49</sup> J. Dąbrowski, op. cit., p. 225.

<sup>50</sup> S. Kutrzeba (ed.), 'Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski z węgrymi głównie z archiwum koszyckiego z lat 1354–1501', *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, ix, Kraków, 1902, no. 50, dated 1482, in a dispute with Emeryk Zápolya, Count of Spiš. A similar dispute occurred with Košice, ibid., nos 78, 79; *Archív mesto Košice, Suppl. H ad 1482* (maxime a Polonis et Ruthenis aliisque nationibus regnorum et regionum superiorum . . . comparare soliti fuissent) also refers to competition between wine from Zemplén and Sremska Mitrovica.

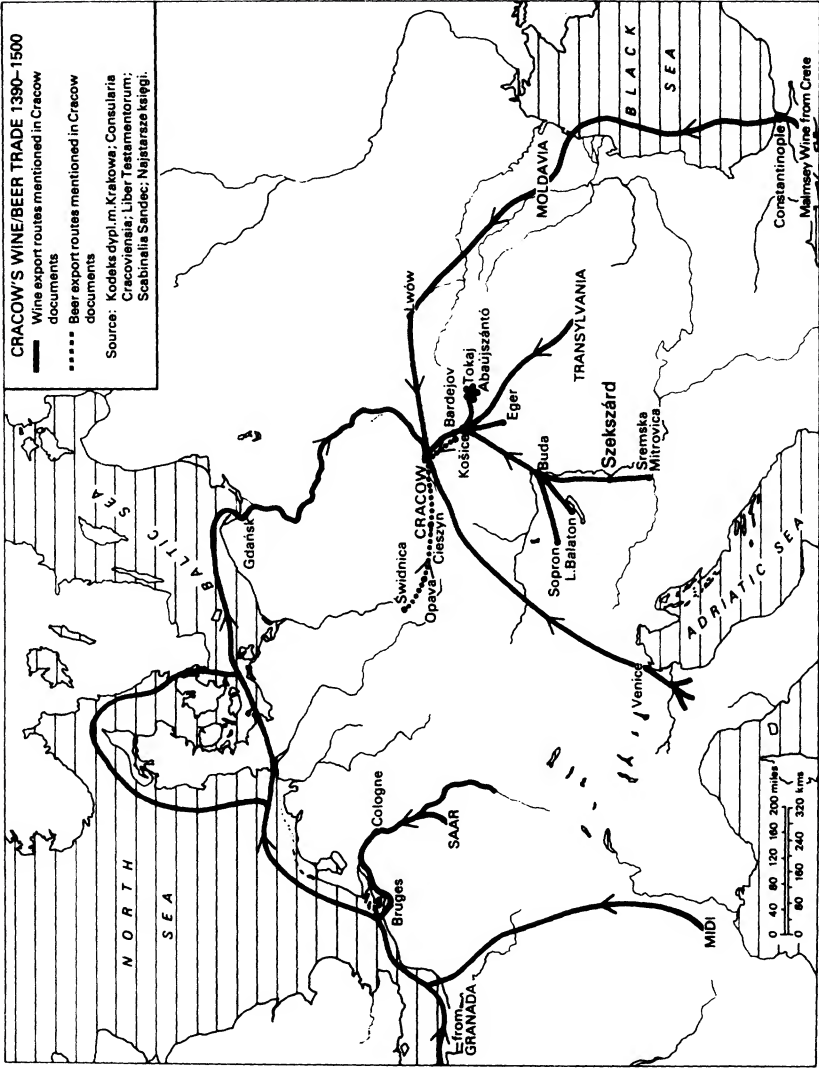


FIG. 1. Cracow's wine/beer trade 1390-1500

Hungarian wines appear from Cracow's documents to have been of two basic types: wines from Zemplén and Abaújszántó, referred to as 'zieleniaki samorodne' (Szamorodni), and 'maślacze asu' from north-eastern Hungary (Hegyalja). Wines from this north-eastern area extended along a line from Gyöngyös–Eger–Miskolc–Tokaj–Beregszász and gradually gained in importance towards the end of the fifteenth century; lowland wines (called 'Piaskowe') were mainly light wines from Eger, Szekszárd, Buda, Lake Balaton, Sopron, and the Syrmia region between the Danube and Save rivers.<sup>51</sup> By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Hungarian viticulture had reached the northern and eastern frontiers of the country; this had been achieved by steady deforestation of areas suitable for vine growing on the light sandy soils. Most notable was the ancient volcanic region of the Tokaj hills on which sandy loams had been deposited, providing a perfect soil for viticulture. Climatically the warm summer winds from the southern plain, together with river moisture, added further natural advantages, in addition to the shelter offered by the hills themselves.<sup>52</sup>

Until the end of the fifteenth century, Cracow's merchants apparently sent only small quantities of Hungarian wine to Poland. Most of the wine was purchased in Bardejov (Bártfa) and Košice (Kassa),<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> A. Ambrózy, *Tokaj-Hegyalja*, Budapest, 1933, p. 32. See also K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI w.* (Biblioteka Krakowska, No. 87), Kraków, 1935, pp. 96–141; L. Makkai, 'Agrarian Landscapes of Historical Hungary in Feudal Times' (*Études historiques hongroises*, 1, Budapest, 1980, p. 203); idem, 'Economic Landscapes: Historical Hungary from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', ch. 2 in *East-Central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Century*, A. Mączak, H. Samsonowicz and P. Burke (eds), Cambridge, 1985, p. 32.

<sup>52</sup> L. Boros, 'A természetföldrajzi tényezők szerepe a tokaji-hegy és környékének földhasznosításában' (*Földrajzi Értesítő*, 31, 1, Budapest, 1982, pp. 41–65); G. Didash, 'Lozarstvo v Ungariya' (*Izvestiya na Bălgarskoto Geografiko Druzhество*, iv (xiv), Sofia, 1964, pp. 79–88).

<sup>53</sup> Bardejov (Bártfa) did not produce wine itself and was mainly a collecting centre; it played a middleman role between Poland and the foothill region of Hegyalja. Examples of wine for sale in the town came from Sremska Mitrovica, Somogy, Baranya and Szikszó. Archiw mesta Bardejov, documents for 1457, no. 994/988, pp. 1–2; for 1458, no. 1057/1053, pp. 1–2; L. Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, Budapest, 1885, 6, pp. 257, 360a. Evidence of wine being sent from Bardejov to Cracow found in: Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Consularia Cracoviensia*, III, pp. 154–56, dated 1451; also 1482 Sremska (Seremiensis) wine sent to Cracow, Archiw mesta Bardejov, Fasc. II, No. 621; Archiw mesta Košice, No. 527. L. Fejérpataky, op. cit., p. 371; Sremska wine also mentioned in *Najstarsze księgi* . . . , op. cit., p. 269 and other Hungarian wines in Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi ławnicze krakowskie*, p. 117 (1451); Košice was the main market centre for wines from the Zemplén region, especially the town of Abaújszántó. Quantities of wine known as 'vinum terrestre Cassovianum' were sent to Cracow (*Rachunki królewskie z lat 1471–1472 i 1476–1478*, S. Gawęda, Z. Perzanowska, A. Strzelecka (eds) Wrocław–Kraków, 1960, no. 88, fol. 82); they were described as light table wines. Evidence of wine from Košice being sent to Cracow: Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Consularia Cracoviensia*, III, no. 249, pp. 154, 167, 334; no. 430, p. 358. Other wines came through Košice to Cracow from Szekszárd, Ruszt, and Tokaj; A. Divéky, *Felső-Magyarország kereskedelmi összeköttetései Lengyelországgal főleg a XVI–XVII században*, Budapest, 1905, p. 63; E. Fügedi, 'Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelsstadt am Ende des 15. Jhs' (*Studia slavica*, II, Budapest, 1956, p. 201).



whilst some of the more enterprising Cracow traders had their own vineyards in Northern Hungary and employed agents to look after them.<sup>54</sup> Wine purchases began in the autumn months after the harvest, and carried on till the end of the year; stocks remained in Hungary until late spring when fears of heavy frost or snow-blocked routes receded, and rivers such as the Dunajec were again open for navigation.<sup>55</sup> As in today's wine market, one of the constant fears for merchants was wine contamination or dilution; on occasions this was detected by wine controllers at the Polish border town of Sącz, and led to legal disputes.<sup>56</sup> Besides Cracow's traders, other merchants from the Polish foothill towns, such as Biecz and Krosno, were involved in the trade in Hungarian wine, quantities of which must have been dispatched to the Polish capital.<sup>57</sup>

The second source area for Cracow's wine imports was Moldavia, either from its own vineyards or in transit. Much less documentary evidence is available on Moldavian wine imports, but it is known that they arrived in the city from either Lwów or Košice. Due to stapling restrictions in Lwów,<sup>58</sup> Cracow traders had difficulty dealing directly with Moldavian sources, but certainly wines from this area were well-known in Lwów, together with Greek wines in transit through

<sup>54</sup> For example, Jan Crenmark, who supplied wine to Cracow from his own vineyards at the beginning of the fifteenth century, *Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie Consularia Cracoviensia*, II, 428, pp. 354–55; Jakob Swob sent wine through Bardejov; L. Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, Budapest, 1885, p. 433; Jan Sweidniczer sent wine to Cracow from his vineyards near Košice (*Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Consularia Cracoviensia*, II, 429, pp. 154–56, 167; *Liber Testamentorum*, p. 41) and had his own agent, Birhemar, there. Frantisek Czotmer from Košice sent wine to Mikołaj Knodów through an agent, *Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Consularia Cracoviensia*, II, 429, pp. 334, 342; towards the end of the fifteenth century wine was sent to Cracow from Hungary by Mikołaj Karl through his agents, *ibid.*, 430, pp. 358, 359; the wife of Jan Turzon also sent wine to Cracow, *ibid.*, 429, p. 397.

<sup>55</sup> For further discussion of these problems, see A. Gárdonyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6; for comparison, wine in France could be carried down the Garonne until about 11 November. See W. G. East, *A Historical Geography of Europe*, London, 1956, p. 107.

<sup>56</sup> Barrels of wine sent from Bardejov by Stanisław Roschek were filled with one third 'feces alias lagyer'. *Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Scabinalia Sandec. 1488–1505*, p. 638.

<sup>57</sup> For example, wine from Bardejov was sent to Biecz on 14/IV/1460; *Archív mesta Bardejov O.A.B.*, no. 1208; in 1486 11 barrels of wine sold by Bardejov merchant in Biecz, *ibid.*, no. 2451; wine from Bardejov in addition sent to Jasło, *ibid.*, no. 1681; Krosno likewise bought wine from Bardejov, *ibid.*, no. 1852; similarly to Dębno on 17/II/1482, 'Item dedimus 21. flor. pro vino, quod nobis missistis et duos cum medio flor. pro vectigale et ductura', *ibid.*, no. 2217; a letter dated 9/XII/1458 was sent from Dębno to Bardejov for wine '... petimus ... velitis ... nobis transmittere unum medium vas (vini), quod esset bonum pro nostra parata pecunia seu florensis. In absencia nostra velitis transmittere nostra magnifice domine in Bycz', *ibid.*, no. 2437; even small settlements such as Brzozów received Bardejov wine, *ibid.*, no. 2379; and Klimontów, *ibid.*, no. 1666.

<sup>58</sup> Ł. Charewiczowa, *Handel Średniowiecznego Lwowa (Studja nad Historiją Kultury w Polsce)*, I, Lwów, 1925, pp. 31–53.

Moldavia<sup>59</sup>. These were the so-called 'southern wines', notably those produced in the Greek Peninsula. These sweet and heavy wines came under the name 'Malmsey' (from Monemvasia in the Morea) and were brought from places like Crete via the Black Sea ports<sup>60</sup> and Moldavia to the Polish markets. Unfortunately, the Turkish conquest was to restrict the Malmsey trade, but after the Fall of Constantinople (1453) Jewish merchants still managed to send quantities of this wine through Lwów to Cracow and even farther to Toruń.<sup>61</sup> An alternative route for Moldavian and Transylvanian wines to Cracow was through Košice, due to its well-established contacts in these regions.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, wines arrived in Cracow from various West European vineyards. By the end of the thirteenth century specialized wine production had brought great prosperity to Gascony, Poitou, the Rhine area, Burgundy, and the Rhône valley, and there was a lively trade in wines from the Mediterranean.<sup>63</sup> Most numerous in Cracow were Rhine wines. Exports from the Rhineland stretched over an area from Bonn southwards to Alsace but it was the northern part of this region that exported most wine. Whilst local wine markets existed at Speyer, Mainz, Frankfurt, and Strasburg, pre-eminence was held by Cologne, one of the largest wine centres in Europe during medieval times. The city dealt in Swiss, Austrian, Aquitaine, and Burgundian wines but most trade was in the Rhine and Moselle varieties, which were transported to other parts of Europe, including the Baltic.<sup>64</sup> Cracow's town accounts frequently mention two German wines in particular, namely Rhine (*reńskie*) and Ruwer (*Riwuła*) from the Saar.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Percepta et exposita civitatis Leopoldiensis od 1460–1518 r.* (Archiwum miasta Lwowa), Lwów, 1884, p. 620; *Consularia Leopoldiensia*, I, p. 864. *Monumenta Leopoldiensia historica* (Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa), A. Czołowski (ed.), IV, Inventarium, p. 143, Lwów, 1921 refers to an Italian merchant who bought a vat of Malmsey wine from Moldavia in 1442. Circa 1400 a *garniec* (gallon) of Malmsey wine cost between 2.5 and 12 grosz, J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lwów, 1933, p. 40, table 24.

<sup>60</sup> C. C. Giurescu, 'Genoese on the Lower Danube in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' (*Journal of European Economic History*, 5, Rome, 1976, p. 590); P. Panaitescu, 'La Route commerciale de Pologne à la Mer Noire au moyen âge' (*Revista istorică română*, III, 2–3, Bucharest, 1933, (extras din) pp. 9; → D. Deletant, 'Genoese Tatars and Rumanians at the Mouth of the Danube in the Fourteenth Century' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, 62, 4, London, 1984, pp. 511–30).

<sup>61</sup> Archiwum miasta Lwowa, *Consularia Leopoldiensia*, I, pp. 147, 150–51; J. Tandecki, 'Uprawa winorośli i handel winem w średniowiecznym Toruniu', *Rocznik Toruński*, 13, Toruń, 1979, pp. 200–05.

<sup>62</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungarie ecclesiasticus et civilis*, G. Fejér (ed.), x, 3, Buda, 1840, p. 259, no. 147, and IX, 5, p. 264, no. 129, refer to Košice's commercial contacts with Transylvania and Moldavia in 1378 and 1394.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Y. Renouard, 'La Consommation des grands vins du Bourbonnais et de Bourbonne à la cour pontificale d'Avignon' (*Annales de Bourgogne*, xxiv, Dijon, 1952, pp. 221–44); idem., 'Le Grand Commerce du vin . . .', *ibid.*; J. Craeybeckx, *op. cit.*

<sup>64</sup> N. J. G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, London–New York, 1974, pp. 397–98.

<sup>65</sup> *Najstarsze Księgi*, II, contains many references to German wines.

Although Cologne was Cracow's main wine emporium, the city also obtained wine from Flanders, either directly or through Prussian middlemen.<sup>66</sup> The Pomeranian towns were certainly active in wine importation through Bruges; at the end of the fourteenth century Spanish (Granada), French (Midi), and Malmsey wines were recorded in Pomeranian customs lists, some eventually reaching Cracow for the royal court. According to Lauffer, Malmsey arrived in Gdańsk<sup>67</sup> and was transported southward into Poland by Armenian and Jewish merchants, particularly during the late fifteenth century, when Ottoman incursions disrupted the eastern route via Lwów. Lastly, Italian wines were sent to Cracow by the overland route Villach–Vienna–Oświęcim; only rarely are they mentioned in documents, probably because in some years the Alps formed an insuperable barrier to the transportation of Italian wines to northern Europe by land.

Up to about 1500, Cracow's wine supplies came mainly from these three sources, supplemented no doubt by local production.<sup>68</sup> Consumption was largely by the rich and privileged, whilst more ordinary folk had to be content with beer, imported from the Silesian towns (Świdnica, Opawa, and Cieszyn) and across the Tatra mountains from Košice, or with local production of mead and early attempts at making various types of alcohol.<sup>69</sup>

### *Cracow's Wine Trade 1500–1795*

The sixteenth century was to bring changes in the European pattern of viticulture. Previously the vine had been grown over a wide area of the continent in places climatically only marginally suited to wine production, such as the East Midlands of England, Flanders and Brandenburg. During the sixteenth century winters became more severe, with higher frost frequencies which destroyed vineyards; those that survived were faced with a lower insolation intensity than in the previous century.<sup>70</sup> The other major change was the growing ease with which better-quality wines could be obtained from southern Europe. Together these changes led to the abandonment of many more northerly vineyards in Europe,<sup>71</sup> with the disappearance of viticulture

<sup>66</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, I, nos. 72–75; T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbesgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 261–62; H. Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV w.' (*Przegląd historyczny*, 42, 3, Warszawa, 1956, p. 291).

<sup>67</sup> For example, in 1390; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, K. Kunze, C. V. Runstedt and W. Stein (eds), München–Halle–Leipzig–Weimar, vol. IV, 1880, no. 1017; 1018; 1034; W. Lauffer, 'Danzigs Schiffs- und Waarenverkehr am Ende des XV Jahrhunderts' (*Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 33, Danzig, 1894, pp. 40–44); A. Pawiński, 'Notatki kupca krakowskiego w podróży do Flandrii' (*Biblioteka Warszawska*, 3, 1872, pp. 53–73).

<sup>68</sup> Z. Morawski, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>69</sup> W. Bogatyński, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> Anon, 'Changes of Climate', *Arid Zone Research Publications*, 20, 1963, pp. 28–46.

<sup>71</sup> N. J. G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe 1500–1840*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 41.

in the Low Countries and lower parts of the Rhine valley; the vine was still cultivated in Saxony, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia — all areas with poor access to French wine imports. Nevertheless, in many parts of central Europe the vine was in retreat, for it was becoming economically more viable to export grain and import wine.

More generally, sixteenth-century European agriculture experienced a rapid expansion needed to support a growing population, but the seventeenth century suffered stagnation; renewed expansion of agriculture in the eighteenth century was to continue well beyond the chronological limits of this paper. The periodization of European agriculture given here may be imprecise, but the fluctuations outlined certainly influenced crops utilized for the production of wine, beer, and distilled alcoholic beverages. These centuries were also marked by a continuous rise of alcoholism throughout Europe, according to Braudel;<sup>72</sup> certainly the whole of Europe drank wine, but only a part of the continent produced it. Outside the vine-growing regions, beer brewed from wheat, oats or millet became increasingly popular in the northern lands, including Poland. The greatest innovation in sixteenth-century Europe, however, was the appearance of brandy and of spirits made from grain, which the seventeenth century further consolidated and the eighteenth managed to popularize.

Documentary evidence from Cracow helps to support this general impression of beverage production after 1500. During the sixteenth century wine, even from local vineyards, cost much more than beer, artisans only indulging in it on special occasions; for the wealthier folk wine was still the everyday drink, but alcohol such as vodka was often believed in the sixteenth century to be harmful and only to be used for medicinal purposes.<sup>73</sup> As time progressed, however, these rigid distinctions became more blurred, with consumption of all three beverages reaching a wider market — a market less dependent on class or privilege.

For Cracow the main change after 1500 was in the orientation of her wine trade. Previously she had been mainly a wine importer, but the early modern period saw greater wine exports from the city, particularly after Warsaw became the capital early in the seventeenth century.<sup>74</sup> Wine arrived in the city in larger quantities than before, now either for local consumption or in transit for more northerly destinations. While demand for wine continued to rise, Polish viticulture was slowly declining; nevertheless, demands for ecclesiastical needs and

<sup>72</sup> F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800*, London, 1977, p. 158.

<sup>73</sup> Z. Kuchowicz, 'Uwagi o konsumpcji produktów destylacji alkoholowej w Polsce w XVI wieku' (*Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xix, 4, Warszawa, 1971, p. 675).

<sup>74</sup> J. M. Małecki, 'Kiedy i dlaczego Kraków przestał być stolicą Polski?' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, XLIV, Kraków, 1973, pp. 21–36).

greater consumption by Poland's wealthier inhabitants meant a wine deficit, which could only be offset by more foreign wine imports. Thus, according to Rutkowski, 'Wine was imported through the Baltic ports from Spain, France and Portugal, and by land from Hungary and Austria, and from Moldavia and Greece'.<sup>75</sup> Part of this trade involved Cracow and its merchants.

### *Imports*

The pattern of Cracow's wine imports (Fig. 2) reflects this overall national picture, with oriental varieties arriving from Lwów, Hungarian and Moravian vintages from over the Tatra mountains, and West European types coming up the Vistula river through Gdańsk, or along more southerly routes from Nuremberg and Venice via Vienna. Even so, one suspects that the city's customs books do not always give an overall picture of the size and importance of the wine trade. For example, quantities specifically imported by Cracow merchants for the royal court during the sixteenth century were not entered in customs lists. This in turn tends to belie the real contemporary significance of Hungarian wine,<sup>76</sup> and may have led Rybarski to believe that Moravian wine was more important than Hungarian in the city's market place during the sixteenth century;<sup>77</sup> Hungarian vintages came to Poland through the Carpathian foothill settlements (Nowy Targ, Biecz, Grzbów, etc.), all towns which had their own stapling rights, so that wine was not necessarily recorded in customs lists as 'from Hungary'.<sup>78</sup> Conversely, Cracow merchants may have found it easier on occasion to obtain Hungarian wines through Moravian and Silesian markets than by the more difficult Tatra route, thus disguising possible sources of some Hungarian vintages.

Even with these uncertainties, it would seem that Hungarian wine imports were of considerable significance for Cracow, both for local consumption and transit trade, throughout the early modern period. Viticulture played an increasing role in the Hungarian economy after 1500, and created a much more positive factor in the making of the economic landscape even than grain. Moreover, cattle as another alternative agricultural export appeared more difficult to organize in the early years after 1500. Furthermore, the close proximity of the prosperous Polish wine market proved inviting; Poland, with its few

<sup>75</sup> J. Rutkowski, 'The Social and Economic Structure in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', ch. xx(B) in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696)*, W. F. Reddaway *et al.* (eds), New York, 1978, pp. 447–48.

<sup>76</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami*, p. 94–141; G. Komoróczy, *Borkivitelünk észak felé. Fejezet a magyar kereskedelem történetéből*, Kassa, 1944.

<sup>77</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka*, II, pp. 178, 182–83, 198–99.

<sup>78</sup> S. Lewicki, *Prawo składu w Polsce*, Lwów, 1910, pp. 138–39; S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, 'Dzieje Handlu i Kupiectwa Krakowskiego' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, xiv, 1911, Kraków, p. 29).



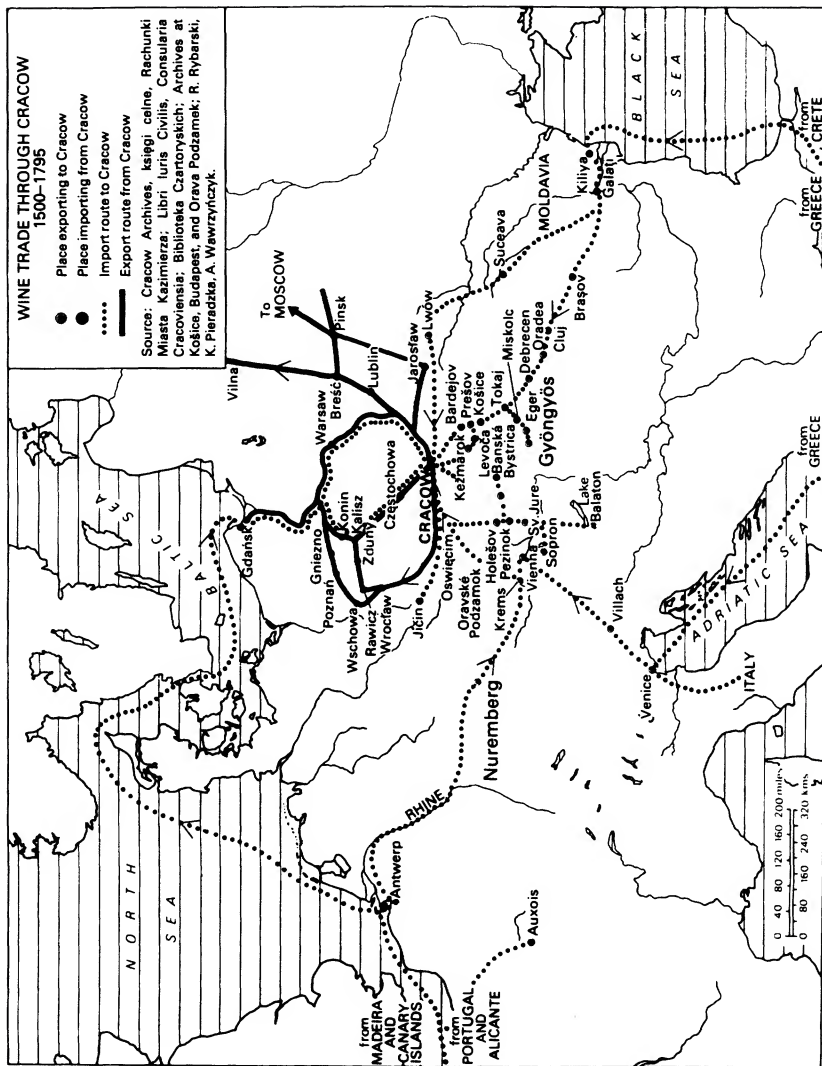


FIG. 2. Wine trade through Cracow 1500-1795

vineyards, poor soil, inhibiting climate, and consequent insufficient domestic production, helped stimulate the development of Hungary's north-eastern wine-growing district. In this part of Hungary the sixteenth century witnessed important technical innovations, with improved banking of soil, considerable application of organic fertilizer, and new vine-dressing methods; however, perhaps the most innovative step came with postponement of the grape harvest till late October. This allowed grapes to dry and the resultant essence was mixed with ordinary wine to produce the famous 'aszu' variety of Tokay.<sup>79</sup> The 'aszu' grapes, late gathered like the German 'Auslese', were crushed separately and fermented in tubs (*puttonyok*) each holding about thirty-two litres, while the wine from normally picked grapes was matured in local barrels (*gönci* — 160 litres). This celebrated 'Tokaji Aszu' was then allowed about six years to mature. Grapes from this region ripened in the normal way also produced a dry to medium-dry table wine known as 'Tokaji Szamorodni'.

The Tokaj district consisted of twenty small towns, which as early as 1561 introduced common regulations for viticulture, accompanied by strict production methods. By the end of the sixteenth century, this district had become the leading Hungarian wine producer exporting about 300 hectolitres annually, much of it for the Polish market. Its fame spread widely; in 1562, Pope Pius IV proclaimed 'This is the wine that should stand on the table of Popes' ('Summum pontificem talia vina decent'), while later King Louis XIV of France declared it to be 'Le roi des vins et le vin des rois' (king of wines and wine of kings).<sup>80</sup> In Poland Tokaj wine was known as 'Te Deum' or 'Paternoster', whilst in Cracow, people often said of Hungarian wine 'Nullum vinum nisi Ungaricum, Hungariae natum, Cracoviae educatum' (No wine except Hungarian, born in Hungary, brought up in Cracow).<sup>81</sup>

The other important wine district was Rohonc-Sopron-Modor, which exported about 2,000 hectolitres annually, besides providing wine for the domestic market. Where conditions were suitable, the wine was grown on many large estates, but also by individual peasants. In the Tokaj-Hegyalja region the Hungarian rulers granted a number of privileges to encourage production, including abolition of the lord's tithe and a free hand for peasants to market their own vintages, even in the more distant parts of the country.<sup>82</sup> This meant that in some parts of the Tokaj region the vine ousted grain to form a monocultural crop. Even the advance of the Ottoman armies into Hungary after the Battle of Mohács in 1526 did not deter wine production. Vineyards under

<sup>79</sup> L. Boros, op. cit., pp. 41–65.

<sup>80</sup> C. Parnell, 'Tokay — Essence of the Grape' (*Decanter*, 5, 3, 1979, London, p. 34).

<sup>81</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami*, p. 96.

<sup>82</sup> I. Balassa, 'A szőlőművelés és borkezelés változása a XVI–XVII században Tokajhegyalján' (*Agrártörténeti Szemle*, 15, Budapest, 1973, pp. 31–52).

Ottoman control not only survived, but new plantations were established and enlarged, as, for example, those around the southern shore of Lake Balaton; likewise the market towns on the Great Plain (Alföld) were encouraged to introduce vines onto their sandy soils. Previously they had only been cultivated in the hillier parts of the country. The Ottomans, though abstaining from alcohol under Moslem law, encouraged wine production for it provided useful financial returns from the high taxes levied on sales.

Cracow's main purchasing centres of Hungarian wine were Košice (Kassa) and Bardejov (Bártfa). Košice's excellent geographical location on the southern Carpathian foothills meant that it controlled the north-south trade routes for this part of Hungary. The town was ever jealous of its advantageous position, and municipal laws were promulgated during the sixteenth century to prevent Polish merchants, especially from Cracow, from obtaining goods, including wine, from anywhere to the south of Košice. In 1522 the Hungarian King Lajos II (1516-26) forbade merchants to transport wine to Poland if it had been purchased south of Košice, each barrel being subjected to the town's stapling laws.<sup>83</sup> Bardejov was the other important collecting centre for wines from north-east Hungary. In 1528 the Polish diet (*sejm*) agreed to a joint request from Cracow and Bardejov municipal councils for permission to act as middlemen in the importation of Hungarian wine to Poland. Although repealed two years later by the Polish king, Zygmunt I (1506-48), the privilege does suggest the importance of Bardejov for Cracow's wine merchants.<sup>84</sup> Information on transport costs paid by Cracow's merchants for conveying Hungarian wine from these towns is sparse, but documentary evidence suggests it was about a third of the total transaction.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Arhiv mesta Košice, No. Akt. D 59 (dated 19/II/1522), 'nullus omnino Vina... venditionis causa de hoc regno ad Poloniam... ultra Cassoviam audeat et permittat ferre et deferri facere, sed cum huiusmodi vinis... educendis Cassoviam tamquam locum depositionis ingredi et intrare debeant!'. See also G. Granasztói, 'La Ville de Kassa dans le commerce Hungaro-Polonais au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *La Pologne et la Hongrie aux XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, V. Zimányi (ed.), Budapest, 1981, pp. 58-59.

<sup>84</sup> E. Janota, *Bardějov. Historyczno-topograficzny opis miasta i okolica*, Kraków, 1862, p. 19; E. Fügedi, 'A bártfai XVI század eleji bor-és lókvitel kérdése' (*Agrártörténeti Szemle*, 14, 1-2, 1972, Budapest, pp. 41-89); J. Gecsényi, 'Bártfa város hegyaljai szőlőgazdálkodása 1485-1563' (*Agrártörténeti Szemle*, 8, Budapest, 1966, pp. 485-97). Other places exporting wine to Cracow included Prešov and Levoča. See P. Horvath, 'Obchodne styky Levoče', p. 125. For a more general discussion of this topic, see E. Fügedi, 'Der Aussenhandel Ungarns am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450-1650*, I. Bog (ed.), Köln/Wien 1971, pp. 69-77; Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Camerae Scepusensis Benigna Mandata*, no. 90 (dated 11/X/1596).

<sup>85</sup> Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, *Biblioteka Czaratoryskich*, rkp. no. 1033, pp. 143-44, (dated 1544) refers to the amount for transporting wine from Sopron to Cracow. A purchase of 2.20 hectolitres of local 'edenburski' (from Odenburg) wine was made in Sopron for 395 florens (11,850 grosz). Transport and carriage cost 201 florens (6,030 grosz) whilst other formalities added a further 93 florens (2,790 grosz). A total expense of 689 florens (20,670 grosz) was incurred, of which transport and carriage cost 29.17%

The major consumers of Hungarian wine were the royal court, the landed aristocracy, and rich urban dwellers. Fragmentary information from the king's court accounts gives insufficient detail on actual quantities consumed, but royal rewards for wine merchants are given<sup>86</sup> and in 1571 the Spiš (Zips) Chamber of Commerce recorded sending 600 barrels (1,631 hectolitres) of Hungarian wine to the Polish court, whilst several other transactions were recorded during the 1570s.<sup>87</sup> Besides the royal court, a steady market for Hungarian wine was found amongst the privileged classes, either in Cracow itself, or after transit to other parts of Poland. One of Cracow's main wine merchants, Sindler, amassed large profits and property in the city, based on the importation of Hungarian vintages, whilst some merchant families, such as Gutterer, Dubowski (wine to Wilno) and Sapieha (at the end of the sixteenth century) also specialized in Hungarian wine imports.<sup>88</sup> Up to 1571 much of this trade had been helped by the absence of Hungarian customs levies on wine exports; in that year the Spiš Chamber of Commerce not only imposed a wine duty but also insisted that merchants must possess a valid passport issued through their commercial organization, if they wished to export wine abroad.<sup>89</sup> In spite of these restrictions, Polish imports continued unabated and the more detailed Cracow customs books from the end of the century confirm this situation.<sup>90</sup>

Seventeenth-century Hungary was subject to Ottoman expansion throughout much of the southern and central parts of the country, which tended to disrupt commercial relations with large areas of central Europe. As Pieradzka has noted, 'Hungary found herself outside the world trade routes',<sup>91</sup> and it is easy to understand why trade links between Ottoman-free Hungary (largely Slovakia) and its near neighbour Poland increased. Wine dominated Hungarian exports to Poland; for example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century exports from the Tokaj region to Poland totalled about 50,000 hectolitres

<sup>86</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Libri iuris civilis*, rkp. no. 1422, p. 24; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, no. 149a, fol. 107 and verso, refers to Peter and Baptist Cellario.

<sup>87</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Camera Scepusensis Libri Expenditionum ad Maies-tatem*, 6, fol. 99; *ibid.*, fol. 160 (dated 1575); *Camera Scepusensis Benigna Mandata*, no. 21 (dated 1579) refers to wine from Tarczal in the Tokaj district sent to Cracow for the king's court; similarly wine from nearby Tállya sent to Cracow for the court, document dated 26/xi/1571, Arhív mesto Košic, no. 3078/7.

<sup>88</sup> S. Ingot, *Sprawy gospodarcze Lwa Sapiehy, 1588–1607*, Lwów, 1931, p. 30; G. Komoróczy, 'Uwagi, na temat wywozu węgierskich win do Polski w XVI–XVII w.' (*Rocznik Lubelski*, III, Lublin, 1960, p. 91).

<sup>89</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Camera Scepusensis Benigna Mandata*, no. 171 (document dated 6/viii/1571).

<sup>90</sup> Calculated from information given in K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami*, p. 125; of the 11,335.10 hectolitres of wine imported in 1593 by the city, 4,485.84 hectolitres consisted of Hungarian wine, that is, 40%. F. W. Carter, 'Cracow as Trade Mediator', p. 58.

<sup>91</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami*, p. 13.

annually, and trade was mainly in the hands of merchants from Prešov (Eperjes), Košice (Kassa), Bardejov (Bártfa), Levoča (Locse), and to a lesser extent Kežmarok (Késmárk) and Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya).<sup>92</sup> On occasion the Hungarian nobility sent wine directly to Poland to avoid profits being made by the urban middlemen, but most trade seems to have been controlled by merchants either from Cracow itself or from the main exporting towns of Slovakia.

Documentary evidence reveals that the early 1620s were the peak years of Hungarian wine exports to Cracow in the sixteenth century, with over 10,000 hectolitres sent to the city in 1624, compared with only a tenth of that total five years later.<sup>93</sup> This decline may have resulted from the agricultural depression present in Hungary during the late 1620s; this was further aggravated by problems associated with a war-torn country.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, regional differences in wine exports were apparent; in 1631 Prešov merchants sent over 1,600 hectolitres to Cracow, a fivefold increase over the 357 hectolitres sent in 1629, but Bardejov's traders, with only 267 hectolitres, sent less than half the volume dispatched two years earlier (682 hectolitres).<sup>95</sup>

The depression afflicting Hungary's wine industry continued well into the second half of the century; exports to western Europe were centred on Sopron, which sold nearly half its production to foreign markets.<sup>96</sup> As a whole wine exports from Hungary were now much smaller, totalling only 10–15% of total wine production; towns in western Hungary concentrated on the markets of Bohemia, Silesia, and western Poland, while eastern Hungary supplied Little Poland,

<sup>92</sup> I. N. Kiss, 'Die Rolle der Magnaten-Gutswirtschaft im Grosshandel Ungarns im 17. Jahrhundert' in *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650*, p. 480; S. Takáts, 'Borkivitelünk Lengyelországba 1610-ben és 1611-ben' (*Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle*, Budapest, 1899, pp. 85–90); P. Horváth, 'Príspevok k obchodným stykom východoslovenských miest s Poľskom a Sedmohradskom v 16.–17. storočí' (*Nové obzory*, 7, Bratislava, 1965, p. 135); G. Komoróczy, 'Uwagi, na temat', p. 100, quotes the case of a Slovak merchant, Michal Spali, who sent 237 barrels (645 hectolitres) of wine to Cracow in 1601, which was considerable for one journey; M. Marečková, 'Majetková štruktúra bardějovských obchodníkov v prvej polovine 17. století' (*Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, vol. 27–28 (C 25–26), (Rada Hist.), Brno, 1978–79, p. 134; idem, 'Prešov v uhersko-polských obchodných vzťahoch počiatkom 17. století' (*Historický časopis*, xxi, Bratislava, 1973, 3, p. 431); R. Fišer, 'Obchodní styky Levoče se zahraničím v 17. století' (*Československý časopis historický*, 26, 6, Prague, 1978, p. 857).

<sup>93</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2142, 2143; F. Hejl and R. Fišer, 'Obchod východoslovenských měst se zahraničím ve století protihabsburských povstání' (*Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, vol. 31 (C. 29) (Rada Hist.), Brno, 1982, p. 115).

<sup>94</sup> V. Zimányi and H. Prickler, 'Konjunktúra és depresszió a XVI–XVII századi Magyarországon az ártörténet és harmincadbevételek tanúságai alapján: kitekintés a XVIII századra' (*Agrártörténeti Szemle*, 16, 1/2, Budapest, 1974, pp. 79–201); J. Perényi, 'Wirtschaftliche und soziale Umgestaltung in Ungarn unter der Türkenherrschaft im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert', in *Otázky dějin střední a východní Evropy*, Brno, 1971, pp. 85–103.

<sup>95</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2142.

<sup>96</sup> H. Prickler, 'Das Volumen des westlichen-ungarischen Aussenhandels', in O. Pickl (ed.), *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege*, Graz, 1971, p. 74.



including Cracow (Fig. 3).<sup>97</sup> Commercial contracts with Cracow continued but not on the scale of the early 1620s. The steep decline in wine sent to Cracow between 1663–64 corresponded with the general political and military crisis in Hungary at this time, caused by Ottoman-Habsburg conflicts.<sup>98</sup> By 1669, however, the overall situation had improved, and in that year exports to Cracow reached a peak of over 3,000 hectolitres, but a drop in production the following year coincided with the beginning of long-term stagnation in the Tokaj region and throughout much of eastern Slovakia. Cracow merchants were to rely increasingly on western and to a lesser extent central Slovakia for their wine imports during the latter years of the seventeenth century (Table 1).

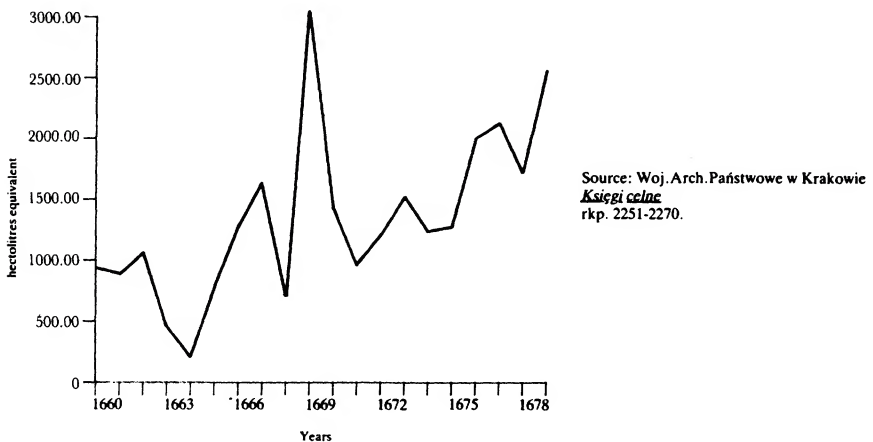


FIG. 3. Hungarian wine exports to Cracow 1660–79

This table emphasizes the growing dependence of Cracow on west Slovakian wine markets, particularly Pezinok. This town supplied nearly half Cracow's Hungarian wine purchases between 1660–79, but over a third of her imports still came from eastern Slovakia, particularly Prešov (Eperjes). The route from central Slovakia through Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya) appears of little significance. The absence of Cracow's former major wine markets, like Levoča (Lőcse), may have resulted from growing commercial interests elsewhere. Wine was now going to places like Vienna and Wrocław rather than Cracow, the latter no longer blessed with its capital-city role and royal court. A document dated 1673 also confirms fears among some Slovak wine merchants of

<sup>97</sup> I. N. Kiss, 'Agricultural and Livestock Production: Wine and Oxen. The Case of Hungary', ch. 6 in *East-Central Europe in Transition*, p. 93.

<sup>98</sup> W. Felczak, *Historia Węgier*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1966, p. 147.

TABLE 1. Hungarian Wine Exports to Cracow 1660-79

EASTERN SLOVAKIA			CENTRAL SLOVAKIA			WESTERN SLOVAKIA			REMAINDER (ORIGIN UNKNOWN)	
Town	Hecto- litres equiv.	% of total	Town	Hecto- litres equiv.	% of total	Town	Hecto- litres equiv.	% of total	Hecto- litres equiv.	% of total
Prešov	6,660.86	24.54	Banská Bystrica	1,250.61	4.60	Pezinok	11,247.34	41.46	3,180.90	11.74
Kežmarok	1,848.72	6.82				Sv. Jure (Bratis- lava)	1,378.39	5.08		
Košice	1,565.56	5.76								
Sub- totals	10,075.56	37.13		1,250.61	4.60		12,625.73	46.53	3,180.90	11.74
TOTAL IN HECTOLITRES EQUIVALENT = 27,132.80 Hectolitres (Annual average = 1,428.04 hectolitres)										

Sources: Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2251-2270; F. Hejl & R. Fišer, 'Obchod východoslovenských měst se zahraničím ve století protihabsburských povstání' (*Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, Vol. 31, (C. 29) (Řada Hist.), Brno, 1982, p. 118).

the dangers faced on some routes to Poland (for example brigandage), made worse by competition from so-called 'Hungarian merchants' who were in fact inhabitants of Polish towns.<sup>99</sup> Finally this table emphasizes the annual average decline in Hungarian wine exports to Cracow, showing less than 1,500 hectolitres per annum between 1660–79 compared with nearly seven times that amount (10,000 hectolitres) recorded in 1624. Even so, Hungarian wine continued to arrive in Cracow and is noted in 1688 (the last extant seventeenth-century customs book for Cracow), but quantities were small, and often mentioned in loads of other merchandise including honey, iron, and copper.<sup>100</sup>

Wine imports from Hungary were organized during the seventeenth century both by Polish and foreign merchants, the former usually members of the richer urban hierarchy or nobility. They had their own employees who transported wine from the purchasing centres to such destinations as Cracow, whilst some of the wine merchants were members of their own special trade guilds.<sup>101</sup> Among the more active wine merchants was Prince Ostrowski, Chancellor of Cracow,<sup>102</sup> whilst other traders included those from smaller Carpathian centres (Dukla, Lubovl'e, and Sabinov), or from northern Hungary (Prešov, Bardejov, Levoča, Košice, Kežmarok, Prievidza, and Tokaj itself). Nearer the Silesian border much of the trade was controlled by Jewish merchants who had contacts among Cracow's Jewry.

During the eighteenth century northern Hungary remained Cracow's main source of wine. Kežmarok (Késmárk) and Prešov (Eperjes) provided the greater part of this profitable trade with Poland, and some Hungarian families (e.g. Pulszky) acquired from it considerable wealth.<sup>103</sup> Archival sources from Oravský Podzámok in west Slovakia confirm wine movements up the Orava valley to Poland in 1720.<sup>104</sup> After 1740 any fears of Ottoman attacks had ceased in Hungary, and by mid-century Cracow's merchants were again playing a leading role in wine imports from south of the Carpathians. Surprisingly little competition in this trade came from Austria.

<sup>99</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Akta giełdy kupieckiej*, rkp. 8, pp. 473–91 (dated 1671–75).

<sup>100</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2202.

<sup>101</sup> W. Rusiński, 'The Role of Polish Territories in the European Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (*Studia historiae oeconomicae*, 3, Poznań, 1969, p. 129).

<sup>102</sup> These also included A. Lipski, J. Komornicki, Dembiński, Grodecki, S. Zaleski, K. Sulowski, Kormanicki, and S. Rogożyński.

<sup>103</sup> In 1744 Alexander Pulszky of Eperjes (Prešov) gave the town of Miskolc a loan of 40,000 florins (£4,000). H. Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 25.

<sup>104</sup> Arhivu v Oravského Podzámku, sign. 86/20 (dated 1720). See also V. Černý, 'Polská sůl na Oravě' (*Rozčníki dějívův spotečnych hospodarczych*, III, Lwów, 1934, p. 173); A. Fournier, 'Handel und Verkehr in Ungarn und Polen um die Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts' (*Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 69, Vienna, 1887).

Although Hungarian wine was recognized throughout the Habsburg Empire as being extremely palatable and cheap it was thought unwise by many Austrians that it should enter their markets. They wished to protect their own Lower Austrian vintages, which under the Hungarian threat would otherwise have quickly declined. As a result, energetic measures were taken to prohibit Hungarian wine imports into Austria, leaving Poland and other parts of northern Europe as the main outlet for Hungarian brands. Merchants in Cracow were able therefore to supply not only the nobility and church with these wines but also increasing demands from ordinary town-dwellers, including craftsmen;<sup>105</sup> between 1750 and 1763 Cracow's traders controlled about two-thirds of the imported Hungarian wine market (Table 2). Foreign wine merchants cornered between a tenth and a fifth of Cracow's market, notably those from Slovakia (Levoča, Kežmarok), or the Carpathian foothill towns of Lubovľe and Nowy Targ.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century large quantities of Hungarian wine continued to reach Cracow. Wine exports still formed the major income source for towns in the north-west highlands of Hungary (Slovakia) and the Little Alföld.<sup>106</sup> Grosman has estimated that in 1775 about 40% of Poland's Hungarian wine imports from these regions went through Cracow.<sup>107</sup> The Cracow toll-bridge returns at Wieliczka between 1775–85 record similar quantities of wine entering the city to those noted in the 1760s (Table 2) both for local consumption and transit trade (Table 3).

The table suggests that over the ten-year period there was some change of emphasis in wine destinations. In 1775 nearly all imported Hungarian wine was for local consumption, but by 1785 it was only about half. Another interesting comparison between Tables 2 and 3 indicates that from 1755 to 1780 Cracow's Hungarian wine imports were similar in quantity to the peak year of 1624, namely 10,000 hectolitres.

After 1785 Cracow's wine trade with Hungary declined considerably due to the partitions of Poland amongst Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Moreover, towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a general complaint in Hungary that the great demand abroad for their wines had ceased, a fact particularly noticeable in the two major wine-producing areas of Tokaj-Hegyalja and around Sopron. However, the

<sup>105</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2216 (dated 1750). In that year for example, craftsmen alone imported 819 barrels (2,226.63 hectolitres) of Hungarian wine, that is, 27% of the year's total wine imports.

<sup>106</sup> H. Marczali, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>107</sup> H. Grosman, *Österreichs Handel-Politik mit Bezug auf Galizien in der Periode 1772–90*, Vienna, 1914, p. 195; G. Komoróczy, 'Borkivitellünk észak felé . . .', pp. 245–54.

TABLE 2. Import of Hungarian Wine to Cracow 1750-63

	1750			1755			1760			1763		
	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%
Total No. of Barrels	2,973	8,082.75	100	3,852	10,472.51	100	3,806	10,347.35	100	4,441	12,073.84	100
of which:												
Cracow merchants	2,075	5,641.34	69.8	2,542	6,910.99	66.0	2,604	7,079.55	68.4	3,019	8,207.82	67.9
Other merchants	478	1,299.55	16.1	449	1,220.70	11.7	391	1,063.02	10.3	877	2,384.32	19.7
Nobility	186	505.68	6.2	413	1,122.83	10.7	485	1,318.58	12.7	204½	555.98	4.6
The Church	234	636.18	7.9	448	1,217.99	11.6	326	886.30	8.6	340½	925.75	7.8

Sources: Calculated from Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2216, 2223, 2231, 2232; M. Kulczykowski, 'Handel Krakowa w latach 1750-72', *Pace Historyczne*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Kraków, 1960.



TABLE 3. Hungarian Wine through Cracow 1775-85

	1775			1780			1785		
	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%	No. of barrels	Hecto- litre equiv.	%
For city and suburbs	3,345	9,094.12	87.5	2,968	8,069.15	69.0	1,805	4,907.29	52.6
In transit	481	1,307.70	12.5	1,331	3,618.62	31.0	1,626	4,420.64	47.4
Total	3,826	10,401.82	100	4,299	11,687.77	100	3,431	9,327.97	100

Source: Calculated from Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Rachunki miasta Kazimierza*, rkp. 600, 665, 670; *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2235, 2238; M. Kulczykowski, *Kraków jako ośrodek towarowy Małopolski zachodniej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, Warszawa, 1963, p. 59.

Hungarians blamed the fate of their once profitable wine trade not on falling Polish demand but on the Prussian occupation of Silesia.<sup>108</sup>

Other wines besides Hungarian were exported to Cracow from central south-east Europe, but their importance was dwarfed by products from the Magyar vineyards. The other two main importing areas were Moravia and Transylvania. Rybarski's claim that Moravian wine was more significant than Hungarian in the Cracow market place during the sixteenth century is open to doubt. Admittedly, Moravia's vineyards share with parts of Austria the rich soft wind-blown löess soil of the Danube valley and the predominant emphasis is similarly on white wine production. However, one suspects that some of the Moravian vintages that arrived in sixteenth-century Cracow were of north Hungarian origin, but designated as 'Moravian' due to the dispatch route through Moravia and Silesia. Occasionally, customs lists record the vineyards of 'Moravian' brands such as 'Sv. Jure', now a suburb of Bratislava (Pozsony) in western Slovakia, and 'Edenburgski' from Sopron (Ödenburg). Nevertheless, in 1591 specific mention was made of Moravian wine (300 hectolitres) together with Hungarian varieties, whilst Małecki maintains that small quantities of Austrian wine (from the noted 'Weinviertel' or 'Wine district') came through Moravia en route to Cracow.<sup>109</sup> In the seventeenth century Moravian wines often reached Cracow via contacts made between Jewish merchants, but they were usually mixed together with loads of west Slovakian and Hungarian varieties. Even towards the end of the seventeenth century (1688) small quantities of Moravian wines were still being noted in Cracow's customs ledgers,<sup>110</sup> whilst wines from Moravia and Austria still entered the city's cellars in the eighteenth century, but mainly for local consumption.<sup>111</sup>

Wines also arrived from Transylvania in sixteenth-century Cracow. The two main purchasing centres appear to have been Cluj (Kolozsvár) and Oradea (Nagyvárad); Transylvanian merchants brought wine, along with honey, wax, and skins, for sale in Cracow, where they would buy or exchange textiles and other western manufactured

<sup>108</sup> H. Marczali, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>109</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2119 (dated 29/IV/1591–29/IV/1592) which noted a total of 3,497.02 hectolitres of Hungarian wine imported compared with 298.33 hectolitres of Moravian vintage; J. Małecki, *Studia nad rynkiem*, p. 34.

<sup>110</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2142 (dated 1624), gives a total of 130.18 hectolitres equivalent of Moravian wine entering Cracow that year; *ibid.*, rkp. 2142; for example, on 10/XII/1624, Ondřej Wiessner from Jičín sent 25.76 hectolitres equivalent of Moravian wine and 238.28 hectolitres equivalent of west Slovakian wine; *ibid.*, 16/XII/1624, Marek, a Jew from Holešov in southern Moravia, delivered 41.84 hectolitres equivalent of Moravian wine and 437.92 hectolitres equivalent of 'Hungarian' wine; *ibid.*, rkp. 2202.

<sup>111</sup> M. Kulczykowski, 'Handel Krakowa w latach 1750–72' (*Prace historyczne*, 4 (Historia no. 4), Kraków, 1960, p. 93).

goods.<sup>112</sup> For example, in 1597 a Cluj merchant, Mihail Luther, transported wine and hydromel from Transylvania via northern Hungary, to one Melchior Tylis, 'civis Cracoviensis'; three years later documents record that Ferenc, a merchant from Oradea, delivered six barrels (16.31 hectolitres) of Transylvanian wine to Stanisław Wiatr, 'civics Clepardiensis', that is, of Kleparz, a Cracow suburb.<sup>113</sup> In the seventeenth century it was mainly Oradean merchants who occasionally sent Transylvanian wine to Cracow via Debrecen for the Polish market,<sup>114</sup> but in the following century they were rarely mentioned.

Transylvania was also important to Cracow as an area for more distant wines in transit. Oriental varieties, so-called because they arrived from lands under Ottoman control, were in fact mainly of south European origin. Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were particularly active in this trade, operating through Lwów. During the sixteenth century Greek and Cretan wines were sent to the Black Sea ports of Kiliya and Galați, and on through Moldavia or Transylvania to Lwów and Cracow; of these Malmsey and Muscatel were predominant, both highly prized by members of the Polish royal court. For example, in 1557 a Greek merchant from Suceava sent Malmsey wine to Cracow. Saxon merchants in Brașov (Brassó) also bought quantities of these wines in Galați for export to Cracow.<sup>115</sup> In 1571 Stefan Batory, later to become King of Poland (1576–86), ordered Malmsey wine to be sent to Cracow from Brașov, and in 1584 a small quantity of this wine was sent from Venice by the sea route and Lwów to Cracow.<sup>116</sup> Towards the end of this century increasing hostilities between Venice and Turkey discouraged merchants from venturing into the Black Sea with supplies, especially from Venetian-held Crete, so that in future such wines had to be sent to Cracow through western Europe.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> S. F. Tomcmalaev, *Capitalul comercial și profitul comercial*, București, 1951, pp. 11–12; B. F. Porsnev, *Studii de economie politică a feudalismului*, București, 1957, p. 109.

<sup>113</sup> M. P. Dan, 'Le Commerce de la Transylvanie avec la Pologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle' (*Revue roumaine d'histoire*, 8, 3, Bucharest, 1969, p. 630); idem, 'Mărfuri exportate de negustorii clujeni la Cracovia, la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea' (*Lucrări Științifice Oradea Istoric*, Oradea, 1973, pp. 37–43); Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2121, fol. 31 (document dated 28/1/1600).

<sup>114</sup> F. Pap, 'Rute comerciale și localități Transilvane în comerțul clujului cu produse agricole și vite (Prima jumătate a sec. XVII)' (*Acta Musei Napocensis*, xv, Cluj, 1978, p. 351).

<sup>115</sup> E. Alberi, *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, ser. III, vol. II (relazioni Lorenzo Bernado, 1592), Firenze, 1846, p. 412; I. Nistor, *Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen der Moldau im XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert. Nach Quellen dargestellt*, Gotha, 1911, p. 74 (document referring to 1587); W. Łozinski, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowski w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów, 1892, p. 50 (document related to 1570); N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc, Epoca veche*, București, 1925, p. 203; *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. III, Brasov, 1896, p. 347.

<sup>116</sup> E. Veress, *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király levelezése*, vol. I, Cluj, 1944, p. 151; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka*, 2, p. 199; Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Consularia Cracoviensia*, II, 446 (document dated 1575) refers to Cracow wine merchant A. Baldi sending his agent to Lwów to buy Malmsey and Muscatel wine.

<sup>117</sup> A. Dziubiński, 'Drogi handlowe polsko-tureckie w XVI stuleciu' (*Przegląd historyczny*, 2, Warszawa, 1965, p. 240).

Western Europe was the other source of Cracow's wine imports in the sixteenth century; these wines were largely in transit from southern vineyards. They arrived mainly from Nuremberg and Gdańsk. Rhenish wines appear to have been most popular, but other vintages came from France, Portugal, Spain and the eastern Mediterranean; some of these must have reached the royal court, for a document signed by Stefan Batory in 1580 gives a list of wine imports which included French (especially from Auxois in Burgundy), Spanish (Alicante, Canary Islands), Portuguese (Madeira), and Italian varieties.<sup>118</sup>

French and Spanish wines usually came to Cracow via Nuremberg or the Baltic port of Gdańsk. For many years Nuremberg helped channel eastern and Mediterranean wares northwards. In fact, the city had maintained commercial relations with Poland since the fourteenth century, and Nuremberg citizens were to be found in Łódź, Warsaw, Lublin, and Cracow.<sup>119</sup> Commercial decline in Venice and Genoa, and the rise of Antwerp, meant that cities like Nuremberg along with other German commercial centres entered a difficult period of trading adjustment. This was noticeable with wine. An increasing number of Portuguese caravels and carracks arrived in Antwerp. They carried amongst their merchandise vintages en route for Gdańsk, leaving Nuremberg rather isolated from the main avenues of the northern trade. Nuremberg's commercial decline in the wine trade is reflected in Cracow's custom lists: in 1538/39 only 800 hectolitres entered the city from Nuremberg. At the same time, Antwerp saw immense quantities of wine arrive at the port in the 1540s; by 1584 Cracow's wine imports through Nuremberg had dropped to a mere 3 hectolitres, mainly French and Rhenish varieties.<sup>120</sup>

Gdańsk replaced Nuremberg as the fulcrum of Cracow's West European wine trade during the sixteenth century, particularly in taking over Lwów's former role as supplier of oriental vintages. This was due to continued Ottoman incursions towards the end of the century on routes through Moldavia and Transylvania. Varied quantities arrived in Cracow from Gdańsk, some years only a few dozen barrels, but the choice was impressive and probably for the royal court. Rhenish and French wines also came with Spanish varieties,<sup>121</sup> including Peter-see-me (from a grape introduced by Pedro Ximenes), Bastard Alicante, and other dry, sweet 'sec' vintages. Muscatel arrived from the eastern Mediterranean, whilst Malmsey came increasingly

<sup>118</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Historia Gospodarcza Polski (do 1864 r.)*, Warszawa, 1953, p. 105; Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Camera Scepusensis Libri Expeditionum ad Maiestatem*, 7, p. fol. 334–334 verso; *Volumina legum*, II, p. 1001.

<sup>119</sup> G. Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 128.

<sup>120</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka*, II, p. 183, 199; J. Craeybeckx, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>121</sup> J. M. Małeckie, *Związki handlowe miast Polskich z Gdańskiem w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1968, p. 141.

from the Canary Islands. The Malmsey grape had reached there from the eastern Mediterranean via southern Spain and began to provide a new basis for Tenerife's economy to replace the declining sugar industry.<sup>122</sup>

Some deliveries came on land routes from Gdańsk to Cracow, (e.g. 1584, 13.6 hectolitres), others up the Vistula river (e.g. 1573, 11 hectolitres).<sup>123</sup> The fuller Cracow customs registers from the end of the sixteenth century give a more accurate picture of the role played by Gdańsk in the wine trade. Considerable differences in quantity are evident over the last decade, but such differences may have been attributable to vagaries in the wine trade itself. This was dependent not only on varying annual harvests but also on the demand for southern vintages in western Europe. For example, 1589, 1594, and 1595 were years of wine plenty in Cracow, compared with the leaner ones of 1593 and 1597 to 1600.<sup>124</sup>

During the early years of the seventeenth century more exotic wines continued to be imported from western Europe by Cracow merchants. Most vintages came through Gdańsk, with a peak year in 1602 (440 hectolitres) (Fig. 4). High demand continued during the first decade, not only for more ordinary wines, but also for the prized Malmsey — a favourite of the royal court. Specific reference to Canary wine ('wino kanar') may be found in the custom lists for 1601, 1602, 1605, and 1611, the last entry; this coincided with the date when the royal court finally moved to Warsaw.<sup>125</sup> Bogucka has traced the popularity of Spanish wine imports to Gdańsk during these early years of the seventeenth century,<sup>126</sup> some surely destined for Cracow, but the transfer of political power along with all its appendages to Warsaw drastically affected demand for these specialist wines in the old capital. After 1610 wine imports to Cracow through Gdańsk remained at a low level, further complicated later in the century by the Thirty Years War

<sup>122</sup> F. W. Carter, 'El Vino de Las Islas Canarias en La Cracovia del siglo XVI' (*Revista de Historia Canaria*, Tenerife, 1986 (forthcoming) → G. F. Steckley, 'The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade' (*Economic History Review*, 33, 3, London, 1980, p. 337).

<sup>123</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka*, p. 199; S. Kutrzeba and F. Duda, *Regestra thelonei aquatici Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, Kraków, 1915, p. 571.

<sup>124</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2112, which included 8.16 hectolitres of Spanish dry wine; *ibid.*, rkp. 2115–2120.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, rkp. 1222–2127, 2132. In 1601, one pipe (4.77 hectolitres) of Canary wine arrived in Cracow; 1602 — 10 pipes (47.73 hectolitres); 1605 — 3 kufa (16.31 hectolitres) and in — 1611 — 2 pipes (9.54 hectolitres); J. M. Małecki, *Związki handlowe miast Polskich*, p. 245, refers to one pipe (4.77 hectolitres) of sweet Spanish wine 'sek' arriving in Cracow from Gdańsk; Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2126 (dated 1604) mentions one kufa (5.44 hectolitres) of wine from Alicante reaching Cracow from Gdańsk; J. M. Małecki, *Związki handlowe miast Polskich*, p. 245, — one barrel (2.72 hectolitres) in 1618 and 1619, one pipe (4.77 hectolitres) of the same wine.

<sup>126</sup> M. Bogucka, 'Handel Gdańska z półwyspem Iberyskim w pierwszych połowie XVII wieku' (*Przegląd historyczny*, 60, 1, Warszawa, 1969, p. 20 (Table B)).



(1618–48) and the trauma of the Swedish invasions in the second half of the century. By the eighteenth century the days when more expensive Iberian and other wines entered Cracow were over, but evidence suggests that French vintages and Cretan Malmsey still occasionally appeared in the city's cellars.<sup>127</sup>

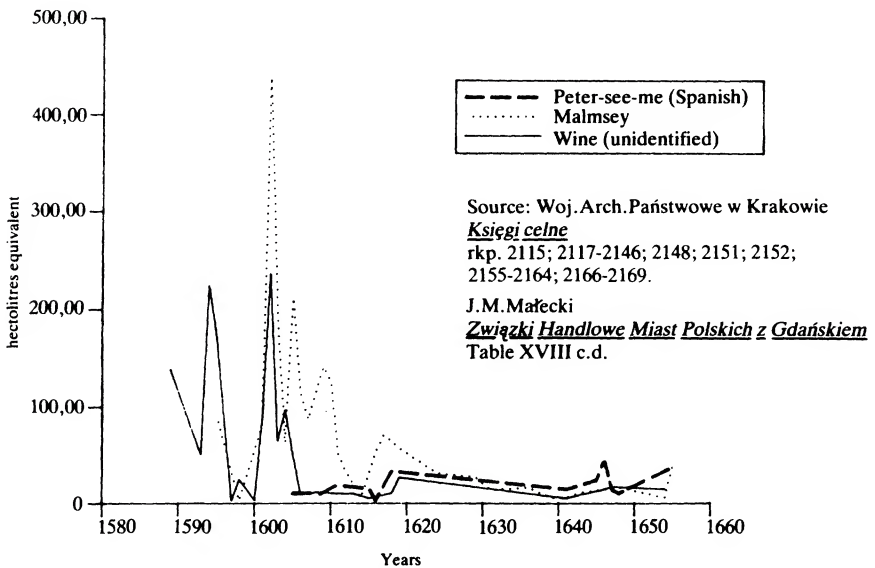


FIG. 4. Certain wines sent from Gdańsk to Cracow 1589–1655

Italian wines in the sixteenth century often came overland direct to Cracow via Villach, Vienna, and Oświęcim (Auschwitz). Italian merchants in Cracow were particularly active in this trade, foremost amongst them the del Pace family. Italian-owned wine shops in the city contained a variety of vintages, not only from their homeland, but also from Austria, the Rhine valley, France, Spain, and Hungary. There were only a few Italian wine merchants in the city, but they possessed some of the best commercial sites. A 1595 inventory of wine shops listed eighty-four, a quarter of which were located in the main square (Rynek). Even though only nine Italian owners are listed, six of them had shops in the prestigious Rynek and were amongst the largest in the city. This situation had probably arisen from a 1591 municipal decree which forbade foreign merchants to store quantities of wine in their cellars. They had to sell it on the city market. This ruling was only

<sup>127</sup> E. Cieślak, 'Sea-borne Trade between France and Poland in the XVIIIth Century' (*Journal of European Economic History*, 6, 1, Rome, 1977, p. 53); M. Kulczykowski, 'Handel Krakowa w latach . . .', p. 93.

waived for foreigners who had managed to obtain Cracow citizenship, or had served the monarch in some special way; they were few in number but at least six Italian wine merchants must have been included, along with other vintners such as Stanisław Węgrzynek who sold French and Rhenish red/white wines, G. Lizybon (Spanish varieties), J. Francuz (French), and J. Niederland (Hungarian).<sup>128</sup> Early in the seventeenth century consignments of sweet Italian wine arrived in Cracow from Venice, by way of Krems and Vienna, and it was popular among the ladies of the royal court.<sup>129</sup> Such trade was, however, shortlived and although Italian vintages continued to be sent to Cracow in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were not in the quantity or of the quality of earlier times.<sup>130</sup>

### Exports

There was very little evidence of wine exports from Cracow during the later Middle Ages, but the situation changed after 1500 when the city's commercial role became increasingly one of transit trade. In the sixteenth century wine could only be exported from Cracow after the needs of the Polish royal court and sundry wealthy inhabitants had been satisfied. The main direction of Cracow's wine exports was down the Vistula river to Gdańsk, particularly after mid-century (Table 4).

TABLE 4. Wine Exported from Cracow to Gdańsk in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

Year	1557	1560	1573	1576	1595	1597
Amount in equiv. hectolitres	315.37	65.25	21.75	119.62	10.87	51.66
Type	Malmsey	Muscatel	Hungarian	Hungarian	Hungarian	Hungarian

Source: S. Kutrzeba and F. Duda, *Regestra theolonei acquatici Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, Kraków, 1915, pp. XLII–XLV, pp. 458–59; Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2117–20; J. M. Małecki, *Związki handlowe miast Polskich z Gdańskiem w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1968, Tables VI c.d., IX.

Although a rather irregular picture is given by extant documentation, Table 4 does reflect Cracow's role as a supplier of southern wines to the Baltic coast around mid-century. This trade later suffered from the

<sup>128</sup> J. Ptaśnik, 'Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa' (*Rocznik Krakowski*, IX, Kraków, 1907, pp. 35, 37); K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami*, pp. 129, 136.

<sup>129</sup> H. Huteville, 'Relacja historyczna o Polsce', in *Ambroży Contarini, Podróż przez Polskę, 'Cudzoziemcy o Polsce. Relacje i opinie'*, J. Gintel (ed.), I, Warszawa, 1971, p. 328; Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2126 (dated 1604).

<sup>130</sup> M. Kulczykowski, 'Handel Krakowa w latach . . .', p. 93.

decline of Lwów, Cracow's main source of oriental wines from the Black Sea ports. Thus only various Hungarian vintages were available for transshipment down the Vistula river towards the end of the sixteenth century.

There is very little evidence of wine being sent directly north-eastward from Cracow to Lublin, Brześć, and Wilno; small amounts of Hungarian wine were however recorded as having been dispatched to Lublin for the Brześć and Wilno markets from the Carpathian foothill towns. Certainly one Cracow trader, Dubowski, was involved in exporting wine to Wilno during the sixteenth century, whilst other merchants from the city sent Malmsey to Silesia, but much of this trade was of little significance.<sup>131</sup>

Seventeenth-century wine exports seemed to concentrate on the Vistula route. Consignments were sent from Cracow to Warsaw and Gdańsk, especially wines from the southern slopes of the Carpathian mountains. These were in demand from the royal court after 1610 when it had been moved to Warsaw. According to Obuchowska-Pysiowa, twenty-six merchants from Little Poland were engaged in sending wine down the Vistula river, of which a quarter (7) were from Cracow (Table 5).

TABLE 5. Wine Exported from Cracow down the Vistula River 1611–23

Year	Cracow Merchant	No. of Barrels	Hectolitre Equivalent
1611	B. Węgrzyn	100	271.87
1611–12	J. Jachman	61 (Hungarian)	165.84
1611	Z. Hipolit	56	152.25
1612	J. Krongowski	30 (Hungarian)	81.56
1611	S. Sidłowski	21	57.09
1611	J. Benkowicz	10	27.19
1623	J. Zawisza	10 (Hungarian)	27.19
TOTAL		288	782.99

Source: Calculated from H. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Handel wiślany w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1964, Table 17, p. 143.

<sup>131</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka*, II, p. 338 refers to wine being sent from Lublin to Brześć (10.87 hectolitres, and 1.36 hectolitres of Muscatel); to Wilno (62.53 hectolitres) and Pińsk (8.16 hectolitres). Moreover, in 1585 wine from the Carpathian foothill towns was sent to Brześć (135.93 hectolitres) and Wilno (318.09 hectolitres), *Księga celna komory brzeskiej z 1583 r.*, p. 297. See also A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim i Rosją w XVI w.*, Warszawa, 1956, p. 62; Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 2116, p. 51.

Table 5 does show that the years immediately following the transference of power to Warsaw coincide with continued demand for Hungarian wine from Cracow merchants; in fact over a third of the total exported (274.59 hectolitres or 35%) was specifically labelled as 'Hungarian', although it probably travelled in loads of much larger merchandise.

As Cracow's wider international transit trading role contracted in the eighteenth century, wine sales like other products were more intensively concentrated on the domestic market. Hungarian varieties remained popular, particularly in the towns of Greater Poland such as Poznań, Warsaw, Wschowa, Częstochowa, Sławków, Kalisz, Gniezno, Rawicz, Zduny and Konin. All these places were mentioned in documents as receiving wine from Cracow. During the second half of the century these towns registered considerable growth in demand for Hungarian wines. They were no longer the exclusive property of the wealthy classes but were now more available for ordinary Polish citizens, especially after 1760 (Table 6).

TABLE 6. Hungarian Wine Exports from Cracow to Greater Poland, 1750–85

Year	1750	1755	1760	1763	1775	1780	1785
No. of Barrels	42	136½	1,620½	1,862½	439	1,274	1,613
Hectolitre Equiv.	114.19	371.11	4,405.69	5,063.62	1,193.52	3,463.65	4,835.30

Source: Calculated from Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Księgi celne*, rkp. 22 16, 2223, 2231, 2232; Ibid. *Rachunki miasta Kazimierza*, rkp. 660, 665, 670.<sup>132</sup>

Finally, small quantities of Hungarian wine were sent eastwards from Cracow to Galicia. They arrived in towns like Yaroslavl' and Pinsk, and from there were brought by customers as far away as Moscow. Even so, this was very much on a small scale; most profits were still to be had on the Vistula run and within Poland itself.

### Prices

Wine prices, like wheat, can provide a useful barometer on economic conditions except that wine is a relatively elastic commodity, whereas wheat and other bread grains suffer from rather inelastic demand. Any analysis of price series associated with victuals and beverages can

<sup>132</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Rachunki miasta Kazimierza*, rkp. 660 (dated 1775) records 42 barrels (114.19 hectolitres) sent from Cracow to Galicia; *ibid.*, rkp. 665 (dated 1780) notes a total of 57 barrels (154.96 hectolitres); *ibid.*, rkp. 670 (dated 1785) records only 13 barrels (35.34 hectolitres) being sent there; A. Wagner, 'Handel dawnego Jarosławia do połowy XVII w.' in *Prace hist. wyd. ku uczczeniu 50-lecia Akademickiego koła historyków Univ. Jana Kaz. we Lwowie*, Lwów, 1929, p. 139.

portray considerable fluctuations both annually, depending on the harvest, and for longer-term cycles related to the amount, quality, and turnover of money in circulation. In medieval times, money seemed to be constantly in short supply due to silver supply insufficiencies, which led to the melting and re-issue of old coins. In turn this debased the currency and sharp price rises followed. More generally in Europe, price rises were common until the mid-fourteenth century, but plague and high mortality reduced the demand and prices stabilized or fell. This trend was reversed during the later years of the fifteenth century, which eventually developed into the 'price revolution' of the sixteenth century, connected with the influx of silver from the New World. This phenomenon became particularly noticeable from the mid-fifteenth century. Moreover, the process of devaluation in Europe was already underway by then and continued with fluctuations well after the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>133</sup>

How did Cracow's prices, and in this case one commodity in particular, fit into the general European pattern? Rutkowski claims that Poland had a similar price history to the rest of Europe, with its revolution in the sixteenth century, but this was rather later here than in other parts of the continent, beginning only about 1550. The second half of the sixteenth century was characterized by intensive price rises, which relented slightly during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Two monetary measures instigated during the reigns of Zygmunt III (1587–1632) and Jan Kazimierz (1648–68) meant that nominal prices suffered from rapid devaluation of the grosz; meanwhile a rise in silver costs led to a temporary drop in prices, which only returned to former levels and continued increases in the eighteenth century.<sup>134</sup>

Within Europe everything points to an increase in the consumption of wine and spirits between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries; the first surge came in the sixteenth century, particularly in urban centres where quantity appeared more important than quality. This was followed by a second phase in the eighteenth century, when greater amounts were consumed in more rural areas. However, with reference to vineyard distribution, Europe could be divided into three basic regions which in turn affected wine prices. In Mediterranean Europe the vine was omnipresent, but in more northerly parts of this region and

<sup>133</sup> N. J. G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, pp. 477–81; F. Braudel and F. C. Spooner, 'Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750', ch. VII in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, iv, Cambridge, 1967, p. 381.

<sup>134</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Historia Gospodarcza*, pp. 130–34; J. A. Szwagrzyk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach Polskich, X–XX w.*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1973, p. 13–20; A. Szelągowski, *Pieniądz i przewrót cen w Polsce w XVI i XVII w.*, Lwów, 1902; S. Hoszowski, 'The Revolution of Prices in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries' (*Acta Poloniae Historica*, II, Warszawa, 1959, pp. 7–16).



south of the Carpathians it was often a choice between the vine, wheat, and industry. Finally northern Europe, including Poland, was devoid of the vine; here southern wines were appreciated as a luxury, and a sign of class difference. Polish noblemen often insisted on drinking wine merely to distinguish themselves from the more common beer-drinking working classes.

For Cracow, the earliest evidence on nominal wine prices comes from the end of the fourteenth century (Fig. 5) and illustrates the price differential for products from the differing European vineyards. Documents reveal that throughout the period 1390–1410 French wines commanded the highest prices; if one converts the larger quantities (*baryla*) into cost per litre, then these wines on average fetched about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  grosz, compared with Rumanian (Transylvania/Moldavia) vintages at  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . German wines (Ruwer 2 grosz, Rhine  $1\frac{1}{4}$  grosz) held a middle position, and the cheapest was Hungarian at  $\frac{1}{2}$  grosz per litre. This probably reflected not so much inferior quality as comparative proximity and therefore lower transport costs.

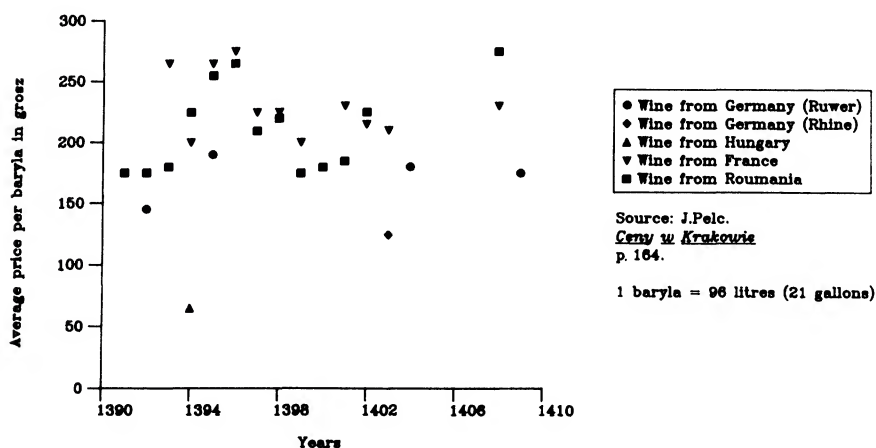


FIG. 5. Price of certain wines in Cracow 1390–1410

A longer time series for nominal wine prices (1390–1590) is seen in Figure 6, but here it was more difficult to distinguish individual vintage sources due to imprecision of documentary data for such a long run. Only Malmsey was specifically noted. Even so comparison with two other beverages, beer, and mead provide some interesting contrasts. Again if costs are reduced to average price per litre over the period, it was found that one grosz would buy a litre of wine, but only one decilitre of Malmsey. Whereas a grosz would obtain about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  decilitres of mead, the same coin could purchase nearly thirteen litres of

beer; cost differential helped distinguish between wealthier wine-drinking Cracow inhabitants and, as Braudel calls them, the 'beer-swilling peasants'.<sup>135</sup> More generally, Fig. 6 portrays the overall stable nature of wine prices common throughout Europe, and subsequent oscillations towards the end of the fifteenth century, giving early signs of the forthcoming 'price revolution'.

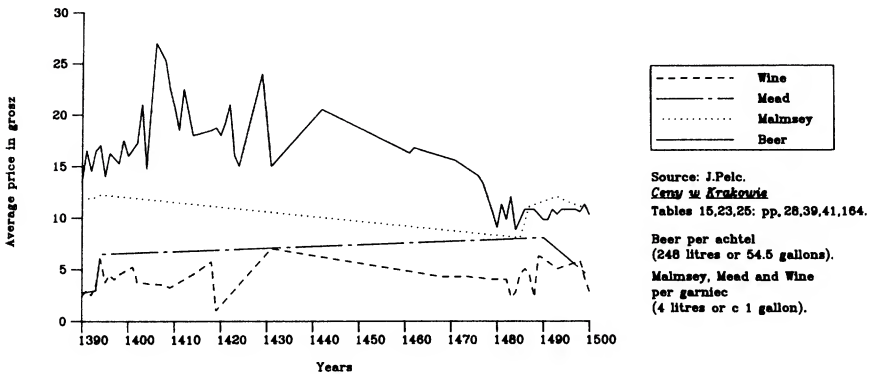


FIG. 6. Price of certain beverages in Cracow 1390–1500

Prices in Poland experienced an overall downward tendency in the fifteenth century with many oscillations, but the first half of the sixteenth began to show a slight increase; the second half of that century felt a strong general price increase amongst all goods, especially foodstuffs. While there was a threefold escalation of prices and wages during the sixteenth century, living costs grew fourfold; therefore, wage purchasing power dropped by a quarter.<sup>136</sup> Nominal wine prices in Cracow during this century appear to have been more stable, rising only gradually towards 1600.<sup>137</sup> The main exceptions were Malmsey and Muscatel which peaked in the early 1570s. This may have been related to commercial disruption in the Mediterranean basin caused by the Ottoman conflict with the Holy League, which culminated in the decisive Battle of Lepanto in 1573.<sup>138</sup> Nominal prices for these wines practically doubled during these critical years,

<sup>135</sup> F. Braudel and F. C. Spooner, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>136</sup> W. F. Reddaway *et al.* (eds), *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696)*, New York, 1978, p. 29; J. Rutkowski, *Historia Gospodarcza*, p. 133; S. Hoszowski, 'L'Europe centrale devant la révolution des prix aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles' (*Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 16, 1, Paris, 1961, p. 448).

<sup>137</sup> J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lwów, 1933, p. 66.

<sup>138</sup> F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, II, London, 1972/73, ch. IV, pp. 1087–1142.

returning to a more stable, if higher, pattern during the last two decades of the century (Fig. 7).

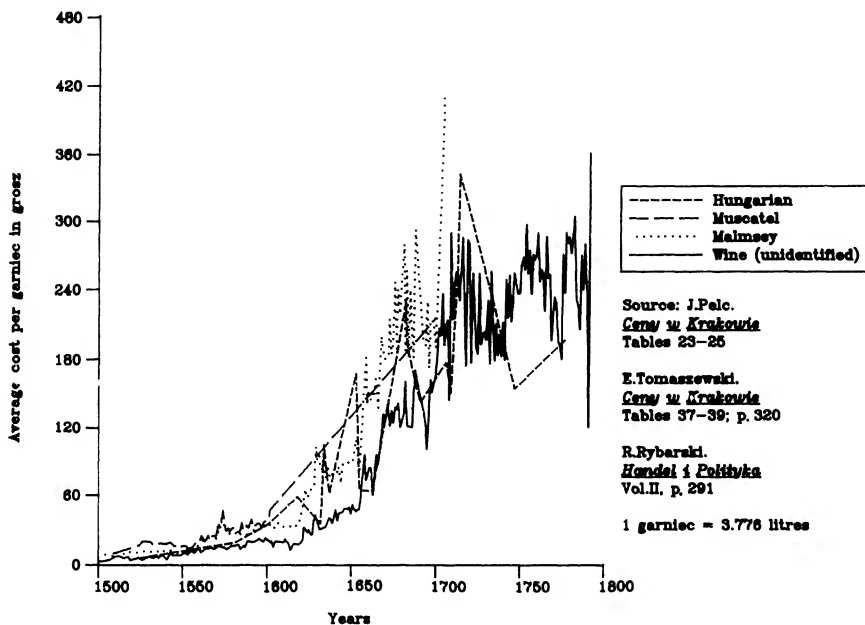


FIG. 7. Price of certain wines in Cracow 1500–1795

Throughout Europe the seventeenth century was one of crisis which Trevor-Roper believes was closely associated with relations between society and the state.<sup>139</sup> Its implications were widespread, among them continued intensity of price rises. In Poland devaluation of the grosz, begun during Stefan Batory's reign, culminated in the disastrous monetary crisis of 1617–23, and followed in the 1650s and 1660s with a new one. The former was part of a more general European process, but the latter was national, connected to events related to the mid-century wars — the Cossack uprisings and the Swedish invasion.<sup>140</sup> Up to mid-century, the greatest impact of price rises was felt by grain/livestock products, and the least among imported goods such as spices and wine. In Cracow nominal wine prices remained fairly stable up to the second decade of the seventeenth century, but the commencement

→ H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century' (*Past and Present*, 16, London, 1959, p. 38).

<sup>140</sup> M. Bogucka, 'The Monetary Crisis of the XVIIth Century and its Social and Psychological Consequences in Poland' (*Journal of European Economic History*, 4, 1, Rome, 1975, p. 141).

of the Thirty Years War (1618) seems to have caused a recession in the wine trade. Wine prices appear to have followed the general fluctuations experienced by other goods in the city, compounded by the effects of the Swedish invasions which led to the complete destruction of Cracow in 1655.<sup>141</sup> During the second half of the seventeenth century all nominal wine prices suffered inflationary tendencies with the more expensive varieties, like Malmsey, reaching new heights towards 1700.

If the seventeenth century had been dogged by difficulties and misfortunes, its economic stagnation was gradually replaced by a livelier eighteenth century, which took off in different parts of Europe between 1720 and 1750. Poland was slower in this new development and began its upward surge of nominal prices in the late 1730s, whilst the whole century was characterized by violent price oscillations and the general trend was upward towards the end of the century. In Cracow wine prices showed wide oscillations, although the overall trend was downward, reaching a trough in the 1740s, to be followed by hesitant increases over the next thirty years. A low occurred around 1775–79, connected with the troubles associated with Partition, but the years 1780–95 saw revival, part of the impetus created by greater regional exchange of goods between Little Poland and other parts of the country.<sup>142</sup>

### *Conclusion*

While the vine is a much studied plant, its impact on trade, particularly in eastern Europe in the late medieval and early modern periods, is less well researched. Here trade impact through one city, Cracow, has added something to our knowledge of the historical geography of wine and its role in that city's commercial structure. Though wine was not as important in the city's trade as some other commodities, for instance minerals or livestock, it was significant over a much longer period. Also, some information has been appended here to Postan's quest for consumption levels, but little evidence has been forthcoming on wine and beer as true substitutes, until perhaps the very late decades of the eighteenth century.

More specifically, from this review of Cracow's wine trade between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries three points have emerged. First, the medieval period was mainly one of wine imports to the city for local consumption by the royal court and wealthier citizens; little emphasis was found on wine exports through the entrepôt trade. Three

<sup>141</sup> E. Tomaszewski, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1601–1795*, Lwów, 1934, p. 51.

<sup>142</sup> K. Kuklińska, 'Les Rôles joués par les marchés intérieurs et extérieurs dans le développement du commerce polonais au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle' (*Studia historiae oeconomicae*, II, Poznań, 1976, p. 100).

main viticultural areas were significant: Hungary, southern Europe via Moldavia/Transylvania, and western Europe.

Secondly, the generally accepted view that Europe underwent changes in trade relationships between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>143</sup> is also borne out by Cracow's wine trade after 1500. In an increasingly commercial world, the city became an important trading focal point, thanks to its favourable geographical location for transit links between north-west and east/south-east Europe. The decline of Polish wine production and easier availability of better-quality foreign vintages, particularly from Hungary and to a lesser extent Italy, stimulated this entrepôt trade, whilst the transfer of Poland's capital to Warsaw early in the seventeenth century meant that Cracow lost an important customer for its wine import trade, the royal court. The decline of Black Sea contacts through Poland's other main eastern emporium, Lwów, exacerbated the situation. Some of Cracow's wine exports went north-eastward to Vilno and beyond, but the major market was now down the Vistula River to Gdańsk; Cracow's concentration on Poland's regional markets in the later eighteenth century matched the growing popularity of wine amongst both craft and artisan classes.

Thirdly, evidence on Cracow's wine prices reflects changes similar to those in the general European scene over the whole period, although there was a time delay in markets compared with the more western parts of the continent. Nominal wine prices show considerable oscillation associated with general inflationary trends and connected with international political and military events, as well as disruptions at a national level; obviously such occurrences had their repercussions on the city's wine trade.

In summary, this case study has shown that changing political allegiances did alter Cracow's wine trade pattern, although the view that the Ottomans hampered Poland's, and particularly Cracow's, contacts with some of the areas of Turkish conquest to a high degree should not be overstressed. Similarly, the so-called 'age of discovery' did not have as great an impact on European wine production and trade patterns as on some other goods, largely because the new territories initially had little interest in wine.<sup>144</sup> It was only indirectly through silver production that inevitable price rises occurred in the European wine market, in which Cracow, like many other centres, was inescapably a participant.

<sup>143</sup> W. Rusiński, 'The Role of Polish Territories in the European Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (*Studia historiae oeconomicae*, 3, 1969, Poznań, p. 115).

<sup>144</sup> J. P. Dickenson and J. Salt, 'In vino veritas: An Introduction to the Geography of Wine' (*Progress in Human Geography*, 6, 2, London, 1982, p. 164); R. H. Greenwood, 'The European Geography of Wine' (*Swansea Geographer*, 21, 1984, pp. 7–11).